



FINAL REPORT

**NEPAL: Citizen Views and Political Dialogue
(USAID Grant No. 367-G-00-04-00009-00)**

Project Dates: October 24, 2003 - December 31, 2004

I. SUMMARY

Nepal's democratic structures have severely eroded in recent years: parliament was dissolved ahead of term; local government was replaced with civil bureaucrats; and the King assumed executive powers by dismissing the elected prime minister and the cabinet. Beginning with the change in prime minister in early October 2002, political party leaders have been locked in disputes with the King and his government over their alleged extra-constitutional assumption of power. Party cadres are still active and can be counted on to mobilize in protest when necessary but, by and large, the parties are still disconnected from the needs and concerns of their constituents. In advocating for their own positions within the political process, the political party leadership has abdicated its traditional role as the "voice of the people." While all of Nepal's political factions claim to speak for the people, it is clear that the people's voices are not central to the dialogue.

At a time when there is no elected representation, locally or nationally, the need to provide a mechanism for citizen input in the political process is critical. In this climate, it is imperative that Nepali citizens' ideas and opinions are included in the politics of national decision making. To address this concern and to provide the political actors with new information on the public's interests and needs, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) received funding from United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for a one-year program to conduct nationwide public opinion research. Under this program, NDI commissioned nationwide polling and focus groups on political, social and economic issues. Using this information, the Institute sought to: 1) provide political parties and civic leaders with insight into public perceptions related to parties' role in the ongoing political dialogue, civic groups and the peace process; 2) encourage the political parties to be more responsive to the needs and priorities of the Nepali citizenry; and 3) empower civil society organizations (CSOs) to identify and articulate citizens' needs to government leaders.

To complete these activities NDI partnered with an international polling firm, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research (Greenberg), and a national polling organization, AC Nielsen/ORG MARG (AC Nielsen). In order to ensure the relevance of survey results, polling questionnaires were prepared through an extensive process of consultations with political parties and CSOs, followed by a series of focus groups with Nepali citizens. The first round of surveys was conducted from May 15 to June 15, 2004, and the second round of nationwide polling took place from October 12 to November 12, 2004. Survey results were presented to major political parties, CSOs, government agencies, USAID, the U.S. Embassy and multiple international organizations present in Nepal.

Despite the challenging security situation in many of the districts surveyed, both rounds of polling activities succeeded in producing nationally representative survey data addressing citizen's attitudes toward political parties, the general direction of Nepal, economic concerns, the best form of government for Nepal, the Maoist conflict, elections, gender and caste divisions, and other issues. The final survey results constitute by far the broadest and most current national polling data available in Nepal, and have already been employed by political parties, civil society organizations, and international aid organizations to support efforts to implement party reform, promote party consensus-building, and explore political solutions to the Maoist conflict.

II. BACKGROUND

Nepal's transition to multi-party democracy took place 13 years ago with a relatively peaceful democratic revolution. Yet a series of unstable political coalitions, corruption at all levels of government, and a lack of citizen participation in the democratic process have fueled widespread public disillusionment with government and contributed to the escalation of a Maoist rebellion. Since 1994, NDI has participated in efforts to increase Nepalis' familiarity with and participation in government institutions and political processes. The Institute has sought to strengthen Nepal's fledgling democracy by: increasing women's political participation; building strong anti-corruption measures; increasing citizen participation and safeguarding elections.

Important institutions in the Nepali polity—the government, political parties, Parliament, civil society organizations, and the King—have generally ignored a central tenet of good governance, assuming that they “know” the thoughts and needs of the Nepali citizens without actually asking them. Neither the civil servants running the local government offices nor the King's appointees, charged with directing the national agenda, have a mandate or mechanism for soliciting public input on issues of public policy. Two rounds of polling and focus groups conducted by NDI have provided a key source of information on the public's support for critical issues such as peace building proceedings, economic development, and governance. In addition to providing important information on citizen's views, this program is leading to the development of strategies in political parties and CSOs on how to use this information to inform political and advocacy campaigns, thus bridging the distance between the citizenry, the political parties, the CSOs and the current government. By increasing the capacity of political parties and CSOs to integrate public opinion into their efforts to pressure the government, this program has provided the opportunity to introduce citizens' views into the current political dialogue.

III. PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The NDI *Citizen Views and Political Dialogue* program held the following organizational objectives:

- *To provide political parties and civic leaders with insight into public perceptions related to parties, civic groups and the peace process.*
- *To enable and encourage political parties to become responsive to the needs and priorities of the citizenry.*
- *To inform the design of CSO advocacy efforts in Nepal with the views, perspectives and perceptions of Nepali citizens.*

IV. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

To implement this program, NDI coordinated its activities with local partners, political parties, and CSOs. In addition, NDI held regular meetings with representatives from USAID to update them on the progress of the program, discuss the main objectives of the poll, and seek input on implementation. In Washington DC, the Institute actively

collaborated with Greenberg to draft the questionnaire and provide guidance on its implementation, and to discuss the focus group and survey results. In order to prevent overlap with other national polling organizations, NDI regularly consulted with the International Crisis Group (ICG) which conducts its own public opinion surveys.

In order to receive buy-in from the political parties, NDI worked with the major political parties—Nepali Congress (NC), Nepali Congress–Democratic (NC-D), Communist Party of Nepal–Unified Marxist Leninist (CPN-UML), Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) and Nepal Sadbhawana Party (NSP, both factions)—to plan the surveys and analyze the results. The parties were actively engaged in the program, providing their individual party messages that were tested in the focus groups and later incorporated in the survey questions. In addition, CSOs working on democratic development, including the Center for Studies on Democracy and Governance (CSDG) Society for Constitutional and Parliamentary Exercises (SCOPE) Nepal Law Society (NLS), provided the Institute with their input on the focus groups and in the development of the survey questionnaires.

VI. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The Institute met its program objectives through two phases of public opinion research. In each phase, focus groups were held in targeted areas to gauge the issues and concerns most relevant to citizens. This input, combined with discussions with civil society organizations and political parties, enabled NDI and its partners to develop and field test the nationwide surveys. Once the surveys were finalized and translated into Nepali and other native languages, NDI's polling partners held trainings for its surveyors and supervisors to prepare them to conduct the poll. In total, 60 districts were covered in the surveys, representing 93 percent of the population and including responses from a total of over 6,000 randomly selected individuals who provided their views on the general direction of Nepal, economic concerns, the best form of government for Nepal, Maoist conflict, political parties, elections, gender and caste and other issues. After this data was analyzed and compiled, NDI presented and distributed key findings to representatives from political parties, civil society and the media. The chart below indicates the steps involved when conducting each survey.

STEP ONE: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS	STEP TWO: FIELDING OF POLLING	STEP THREE: DATA DISSEMINATION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selecting an international and national polling firms • Preparing focus groups specifications • Preparing FG guidelines • Holding FGs for the first-hand assessment of the situation • Garnering support and inputs in the questionnaire from USAID, political parties, like-minded Civil Society Organizations and polling firms on the survey questions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holding orientation program for surveyors and supervisors • Preparing a questionnaire for the preliminary round of survey • Revising and finalizing survey questions • Field surveying 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data analysis, compilation and finalization of reports • Presentation of Research Findings • Distributing reports to intended beneficiaries • Press conference and media coverage

Phase I: First Round Polling (October 24, 2003 to July 2004)

Exploring and Selecting the Polling Firms

Three local firms—Blitz Media, Orion Associates, and AC Nielsen— submitted bids to conduct the two nationwide polls and organize a series of focus group discussions. After a competitive selection process, NDI selected AC Nielsen/ORG MARG as the local polling firm due to its professional expertise, budget planning capabilities, experience in conducting surveys, and access to trained interviewers able to conduct the proposed polling. Greenberg was selected in a competitive bid process to assist and oversee the local polling firm. Greenberg was tasked with supervising the work of AC Nielsen, making a number of visits to Nepal, organizing focus groups, and assisting in the development of the methodology and execution of the polls.

Meetings with CSOs and Political Party Leaders

On November 25, 2003, NDI held a brainstorming session with members of local CSOs. Participating organizations at the meeting included CSDG, SCOPE, NLS, and AC Nielsen. Discussion focused on preparing the questionnaire, conducting the poll and defining the roles of the civic organizations during and after the polls.

On December 14, 2003, NDI held a group meeting with leaders¹ from all the main political parties, including: NC-D; NC; CPN-UML; RPP; and NSP, both factions. Ron Glass and Anita Mahat attended from USAID, along with four representatives from AC Nielsen and Ram Guragain and Dipendra Tamang from NDI. The meeting served as an introduction of the polling program to the political party representatives and a way to garner their support. The parties contributed a number of ideas to AC Nielsen about the how to conduct the polls and what topics to include, playing an active role in the design of the final questionnaire.

Preparing and holding focus groups

NDI and Greenberg worked with AC Nielsen to prepare the discussion guide for the first ten focus groups. Greenberg representative, John Moreira, visited Nepal to work with AC Nielsen and supervised the first round of focus groups. Prior to his arrival, AC Nielsen, NDI and Greenberg agreed on a methodology for the focus group discussions, and the different discrete groups to be interviewed.

Four focus groups were held between February 18 and 19, 2004 in the Kathmandu valley. Six additional focus groups were held outside of the valley in the districts of Bardiya, Banke, Chitwan, Dhankuta, Morang and Sindupalchok. All 10 of the focus groups were finished by March 12. Representatives of NDI, Greenberg, and AC Nielsen, monitored focus group discussions, with the assistance of a hired translator. All focus group discussions

Democracy Today

"Yes, there is democracy but it has been paralyzed. It is now in a coma and anytime it may die. Democracy is just for the namesake, nobody is able to live freely. People are still not able to vote wherever they like. They are forced to vote for certain persons because of fear and intimidation."

—Young man, Chitwan

¹ Leaders who were present in the meeting: Dr. Minendra Rijal, NC-D; Dr. Ram Saran Mahat, NC; Mr. Jhalanath Khanal, CPN-UML; Mr. Shivahari Poudel, RPP; Mr. Hridayesh Tripathi, NSP-A; and Mr. Yagyajeet Shah, NSP.

were taped and transcripts were printed in English in order to analyze the information². The focus groups included several questions on the country's direction, economic conditions, and the current political situation.

Selecting topics for the questionnaire and questionnaire drafting

NDI held meetings with civil society organizations (CSOs) and political party leaders to discuss topics and questions that should be included in the questionnaire. Following these

Trapped Between the Maoists and the RNA

"The condition is becoming worse day by day, violence and murder is increasing. This problem has to be solved as soon as possible. The question is always on our mind. Both day as well as night. It is difficult for us because during the day we have to face the Royal Nepal Army and at night we have to face the jungle army (Maoists)."

—Young female, Chisa Pani

meetings, political party leaders and CSOs sent their feedback to NDI to assist with the drafting of the questionnaire. NDI also held in-house brainstorming sessions with AC Nielsen to prepare initial drafts of the questionnaire.

In February, NDI held focus groups to test the topics that were to be used in the questionnaire. Following the focus groups, the responses were analyzed and discussed with the two polling firms and USAID. These discussions centered on what type of information NDI was looking for in conducting the survey, and the survey was redrafted accordingly.

In early April, NDI received a working draft of the survey questionnaire from Greenberg. This draft was the product of numerous consultations between NDI, the major political parties, and civil society organizations. The draft was then carefully reviewed by NDI, AC Nielsen, Greenberg, and USAID in order to fine-tune the questions and make sure the survey was focused on the right issues to provide the most useful information.

Field Testing

At the end of April and the beginning of May, field testing of the questionnaire was conducted to assure the questions would be understood by respondents and that the survey itself was not too long. Minor changes were made to the survey instrument after this field testing, but overall, it performed quite well. After field testing and further refining of the questionnaire, translation began from Nepali into several other native languages of Nepal, including Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Awadhi.

At the beginning of May, training was conducted by AC Nielsen, using guidelines developed by Greenberg, for the survey teams preparing for field assignments. Both NDI and USAID observed this training of surveyors/supervisors.

First Round of Field Polling

Beginning in the second week of May, the Institute trained surveyors/supervisors who conducted the first round of the nationwide polling in Nepal through NDI's local partner, AC Nielsen. The field work was completed by mid-June. Despite the existing security situation of the districts visited, the poll was conducted virtually without serious mishap until its final day, when Maoists abducted a polling supervisor and held him for a number of days before releasing him in exchange for some of the opinion data. A number of districts were dropped

² For a summary of the preliminary focus group findings, see Appendix A.

from the original survey plan when it became apparent that the Maoist forces would not allow the survey to be completed in these areas.

Distribution of Polling Results

Compilation and analysis of the poll data began after the completion of field work in late June. By mid-July, the data³ was ready for presentation to the intended beneficiaries of the project: political party and civil society organizations; USAID and the U.S. Department of State; and a number of other international organizations. These findings were compiled in a formal survey report (including a summary of the presentation and the tabulation of data in the frequency questionnaire).⁴

John Moreira of Greenberg presented the key findings, data, and analysis to USAID personnel and American Center staff at the U.S. Embassy in Kathmandu on July 19, 2004. U.S. Ambassador James F. Moriarty attended the presentation and expressed great interest in the findings of the survey. The final data were presented separately to all major political parties, the Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA), and a number of CSOs. In the presentation to political parties, party-specific recommendations were provided, taking into account possible target groups, messages, and the view of the party by the electorate. Approximately eight to ten senior leaders and central committee members from each of the party were present in the two-hour presentation program.

The survey was also shared with Nepal-based international organizations including the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV/Nepal), World Food Program (WFP), European Union (EU), Danish Embassy, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), Germany's Development Cooperation Office (GTZ), the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the World Bank. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and the Enabling State Program (ESP) of DFID were also separately provided with a summary of the research. Some of the CSOs working on constitutional issues and close partners of NDI, such as SCOPE, Pro Public, Human Rights Organization Nepal (HURON), CSDG, and NLS, were also invited to a presentation of the survey results.

Follow-up meetings and separate consultations with major political parties were held immediately after the presentation of the survey in order to begin the development of individual party messages and proposals based on the survey results. NDI requested that each major party develop two messages and three proposals by August 15, 2004 so that they could be tested in the next round of focus groups and nationwide polling. Individual party messages and proposals were received from all the major parties. Most of the messages focused on the need for negotiation and peace talks for restoring peace, security and stability in the country. They also focused on the condition of the national economy and on improving employment for all.

³ For a complete copy of survey questionnaire and data of the first phase, see Frequency Questionnaire in Appendix B

⁴ For the detailed survey report of first phase poll, See Appendix C

Phase II: Second Round Polling (August 2004-December 31, 2004)

Second Round of Focus Groups

After receiving individual party messages and proposals, focus group specifications were prepared for the next round of the survey based on the previous survey results. The guidelines⁵ included information on country direction, political party affiliation, general views on politics, and recommendations for party reform. The party messages and proposals⁶ were also included in each guideline. Screeners were then prepared to select qualified individuals for the recruitment of focus groups. The screeners⁷ were double-checked to make sure that they operated in line with all focus group specifications. The regions for the focus groups were planned by Greenberg and the locations were determined by the local polling firm AC Nielsen.

The second round of focus groups was conducted from September 6 through 14, 2004. Two focus groups (one male group and one female group each) were conducted in Kathmandu on September 6 and two others took place in the nearby district of Kavre at Dhulikhel, on September 8. Further focus groups were held outside the Kathmandu valley in the districts of Kaski at Pokhara on September 10; in Chitwan at Narayanghat on September 12; and in Parsa at Birgunj on September 14. In this round of focus groups, special emphasis was placed on recruiting participants of diverse regional and caste backgrounds.

On King Gyanendra

"He is acting as a pillar of the country, which is a very good thing. He visited various places of the country to know the feelings of the public even under such difficult circumstances which is a good thing."

—Female, Chitwan

These focus groups were designed to provide qualitative data and to further refine the details of previous large-scale polling. To analyze the information gathered, final transcripts of the focus groups⁸ were printed in English. The draft questionnaire for the second round of polling was prepared with assistance from Greenberg.

Preparation for the Second Round of Polling

In early October 2004, NDI received the final draft of the survey questionnaire from Greenberg. This draft was the product of numerous consultations between NDI, USAID, AC Nielsen, and major political parties, including the NC, CPN-UML, NC-D, both factions of the NSP, and the RPP. Civil society organizations such as SCOPE, NLS, and Pro Public were also active participants in composing the questionnaire. Utilizing the information gathered during focus group sessions, the draft was carefully reviewed in order to fine-tune the questions and ensure that the survey focused on pertinent issues that would provide useful information to the target groups. NDI and AC Nielsen field-tested the questionnaire in early October around the Kathmandu Valley. After field-testing and further refining of the questionnaire, the questions were translated from Nepali into several other native languages such as Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi. AC Nielsen conducted two days of training with the

⁵ For focus groups guidelines, See Appendix E

⁶ For individual party messages and proposals, See Appendix F

⁷ For focus groups screeners, See Appendix G

⁸ For Second phase Focus Group Findings, see Appendix H

field surveyors and supervisors before they traveled to their assigned regions, using guidelines developed by Greenberg. NDI observed this training of surveyors and supervisors.

Second Round of Field Polling

NDI and its local partner, AC Nielsen, began a second round of polling in mid-October. Trained surveyors and supervisors were in the field by October 12, and the field work was completed by November 11. This second round of polling, conducted in 60 districts of Nepal, involved about 3,200 questionnaires and included areas representing approximately 93 percent of the total population.

In addition to the 3,200 respondent main sample, NDI and its polling partners also included a 300 respondent over-sample of opinion leaders throughout the country. These opinion leaders—typically teachers, headmasters, Village Development Committee (VDC) chiefs or other prominent community members—were contacted specifically because of their

Political Parties to Blame

"In a multi party system, the parties working actively are good. But in the past the parties did not do well. They gave birth to the Maoists. The party, in which the public had faith, has become corrupt. By this people have become frustrated and they joined Maoists in order to get rid of their unemployment problem."

-- Female, Pokhara

stature in their communities so that NDI could evaluate how their opinions differed from that of the average citizen. Approximately five opinion leaders in each district were surveyed. The

findings from their responses were compiled separately from the main sample and provided another useful and insightful layer of information for analysis as the data was compiled.

Distribution of Survey Results

Compilation and analysis of the survey data by Greenberg and AC Nielsen began after the completion of the field work in mid-November. By the first week of December, the data was ready for presentation to the primary intended beneficiaries of the project—political parties and civil society organizations, as well as USAID and the U.S. Department of State and a number of other international organizations.

In December, Greenberg representative John Moreira traveled to Nepal to present an analysis of the survey findings. Survey data and analysis were first presented to the U.S. Embassy in Kathmandu and to USAID. Moreira also presented data separately to leaders and activists of the major political parties in Nepal: the CPN-UML and NC on December 7, the RPP and NC-D on December 8, and the NSP on December 9. In the presentation to political parties, party-specific recommendations were provided taking into account possible target groups, messages, and the view of the party by the electorate. Approximately eight to ten senior and central committee members from each party were present for the two-hour presentation program. CSOs working on constitutional issues such as SCOPE, Pro-public, Human Rights Organization Nepal (HURON), NLS, National Union of Journalists, Human Rights & Peace Society (HURPES) and Informal Sector Services (INSEC) were invited to a presentation of the survey results on December 9, 2004. The survey was also shared with Nepal-based international organizations including the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV/Nepal), DANIDA, Canadian Corporation Office (CCO), CARE Nepal, UNICEF Country Office, ARD, and many others.

The survey was also shared with the print and electronic media during a press conference held by NDI, Greenberg and AC Nielsen on December 9. Information on the survey's main findings and a press release⁹ in Nepali and English were provided to 22 media organizations from the print media, radio and television, and received coverage in both print and electronic media.¹⁰

A hard copy of the survey report, including a summary of the presentation and the tabulation of data in the frequency questionnaire, was provided to all political parties, an inclusive array of Nepali CSOs, and 23 international organizations and diplomatic missions working throughout Nepal. Four Nepali government offices—the Ministry of Information and Communications, Ministry of Finance, Election Commission and the CIAA—were also provided with a copy of the report. Upon the request of the Minister for Information and Communications, a copy of the report was also provided to the Royal Palace.

The key findings of the survey are included as an appendix to this final report¹¹. In general, the survey found a deep dissatisfaction among the population due to poor economic conditions and a high level of violence and terror. Education and political corruption were also very serious concerns.

Respondents reported that they were largely disillusioned with political parties and government, but still had a strong commitment to democracy and voting. Citizens want the Maoists to join the political process and pursue their agenda through peaceful means,

Economic Conditions

"There were a few good deeds after restoration of democracy, for example: building of roads, infrastructure, etc. But unemployment of youths and educated people is the major problem. If this problem of unemployment is solved, then 50% of our problem is solved."

- Kathmandu older male

and want a constitutional monarch acting within the framework of the law. There was little interest in either an absolute monarch or a change to a republican system without a King. This second round of the survey also tested a number of messages and proposals provided to NDI by the major political parties. Feedback from the citizens on these proposals was shared with parties to assist them in deigning and strategizing programs to benefit their constituents.

VII. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Objective 1: To provide political parties and civic leaders with insight into public perceptions related to parties, civic groups and the peace process.

- Both rounds of poll results and the findings from focus group discussions demonstrated to political parties that they would have to take significant public steps for internal party reform to respond to widespread disapproval from the general population. After sharing the poll results with the leadership of all the major political parties, NDI successfully enlisted their support for and participation in a public campaign for political party reform, demonstrating their interest in improving their public image.
- During the presentations for political parties on the final round of polling, party representatives were engaged and eager to debate the implications of the results with

⁹ For Press Release, see Appendix I

¹⁰ For Press Clippings, see Appendix J

¹¹ For detailed report of the second round of polling, see Appendix K

one another, reflecting their interest in this information and a willingness to take a serious look at their internal policies. Though not all results of the survey were favorable to parties, party members did not dismiss the data, but rather expressed their interest in addressing some of the issues raised.

Objective 2: To enable and encourage political parties to become responsive to the needs and priorities of the citizenry.

- Parties have shown their receptiveness to utilizing NDI's polling surveys and focus group research as a useful mechanism for evaluating and interpreting citizens' interests and priorities. All major parties were highly cooperative in providing messages and proposals for NDI to test both in the second round of focus groups and in the second round of polling.
- Findings from this research have provided parties with a more accurate picture of what citizens actually expect of their political parties and government. Parties have taken steps to craft their messages in response to polling data; high-level party leaders' public expressions of support for consensus building among themselves were in part a result of NDI-sponsored polling activities in December.

Objective 3: To inform the design of CSO advocacy efforts in Nepal with the views, perspectives and perceptions of Nepali citizens.

- NDI-sponsored polling data has provided concrete political data to CSOs support efforts to fight against political corruption and for transparency, accountability, and internal democracy within the political system.
- Utilizing polling results, NDI and local CSOs successfully planned a public campaign for reform with the cooperation of the political parties that should lead to improvements within the party system. Public support for democratic reform is high and gives impetus to civil society's efforts to strengthen the political system. Though the current political situation limited the political space for many CSO-planned activities and campaigns, CSOs continue to use the research to inform their upcoming activities.

VIII. EVALUATION

This polling project, while enormously useful to the political parties, the government, and ultimately, the public, was a bold undertaking, given the security climate at the moment and the political nature of many of the survey questions. As polling is a field-based activity, security concerns presented some difficulties for NDI and its partners in carrying out this program, particularly when conducting surveys in many Maoist-affected areas.¹² The first poll was conducted without serious security incidents, except for the abduction and subsequent release of a polling supervisor by Maoist soldiers. Maoists also briefly detained pollsters during the second round of surveying, but only to demand a small cash payment. As a precautionary measure, a number of districts were exempted from the original polling plan

¹² Some of the district were not covered in both the rounds of poll, for the detail of survey area coverage see Appendices- L, M & N

to ensure the safety of the pollsters, but the polling firms were able to adjust to these changes and maintain the integrity of the survey.

In addition to security concerns in districts outside of Kathmandu, serious riots broke out in the capital in September, as 12 Nepali hostages were executed in Iraq. This delayed the second round of focus groups by one week until the situation returned to normal. Strikes (*bandhs*) also made travel for meetings difficult at times, occasionally delaying NDI's schedule for implementing its program activities. NDI however was able to successfully continue with the fielding of surveys in Maoist-affected areas through its local polling partner, AC Nielsen, by keeping a low profile.

NDI was able to complete this polling project by the end of December, two months later than anticipated because of unforeseen and unavoidable delays. Journalists and others were very curious about poll results, and the results from both rounds have continued to be useful in the public discussion of many important issues. Follow-up meetings and separate consultations with major political parties and CSOs after the program concluded showed that this nationwide research work has been extremely valuable to the political parties¹³ and CSOs. The findings of the survey will also be helpful in promoting the various aspects of NDI's ongoing work with CSOs. NDI will continue to utilize the research to advocate for citizens needs, strengthen political parties' ties with the citizens of Nepal and promote internal party reform.

IX. INDEX OF APPENDICES AND ATTACHMENTS

Following is the list of appendices and attachments referred to as in the text:

- Appendix A:** Focus Group Findings – Phase I
- Appendix B:** Frequency Questionnaire - Phase I
- Appendix C:** Survey Report – Phase I
- Appendix D:** Focus Groups Specification- Phase II
- Appendix E:** Focus Groups Guideline - Phase II
- Appendix F:** Individual Party Messages and Proposals- Phase II
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- Appendix K:** Survey Report- Phase II
- Appendix L:** Districts & VDCs Covered- Phase I
- Appendix M:** Districts & VDCs Covered - Phase II
- Appendix N:** Districts not covered in both the phases
- Appendix O:** Party Specific Memos- NC
- Appendix P:** Party Specific Memos- NC-D
- Appendix Q:** Party Specific Memos- CPN- UML
- Appendix R:** Party Specific Memos-RPP

¹³ Party specific memos of four leading parties- NC, NC-D, CPN-UML and RPP are included in Appendix- O, P, Q & R.



Date: March 23, 2004

To: Nepal Team

From: John Moreira
Mark Feierstein

Re: Nepal Focus Group Preliminary Findings

Here are some preliminary findings based on the first 10 focus groups in Nepal.

- **Violence pervasive.** The leading concern of participants was the overwhelming fear of violence and terrorism in everyday life, perpetrated by both the government and Maoists. Most participants think they are caught in a “sandwich” between the Maoist and the government forces. The Maoist come at night and asks for food and the Army comes during the day and asks if they assisted the Maoist. Either way, participants fear retribution by both factions. This fear transcends all socio-economic levels, although to a greater degree in rural areas, and participants thought that their lives would not improve until the violence ends. Most participants also believed that elections could not be held until the violence ends.
- **Multi-party system failure.** Several factors were thought to contribute to the current crisis, situation, but a recurring theme in many of the groups was the multi-party system having led to the Maoist insurgence and violence. While most participants believed that the multi-party system as a concept was good for democracy, they said that internal party divisions and the parties’ inability to work together had caused unrest in the government and provoked the emergence of the Maoists.
- **Nepalese want unity.** Given this sense that political divisions fanned the crisis, participants have a strong desire for all political actors, including the Maoists, to come together to resolve the crisis in a peaceful, if not democratic manner. Participants appeared to be open to almost any type of solution, even if it required a restriction of their own freedom, as long as the violence ended. Some of the nostalgia about the Panchayat systems draws upon this; although some freedoms were restricted, there was peace. The continued infighting within and among the political parties was seen to be a contributing factor stalling the peace process. Participants also expressed reservations about the political parties’ ability to govern when they could not get their own house in order. “Selfishness,” “greed,” and “putting themselves before the nation,” were comments directed toward all political parties, but to a lesser extent with the CPN.

- **Economic stagnation also worrisome.** To a slightly lesser extent, unemployment, low wages and the high cost of living were also cited as concerns. The current conflict between the parties, the government and the Maoist were seen to be stifling any economic development. The participants were also troubled by the economic impact of the constant strikes, which, along with the violence, seems to be weakening support for the Maoists.
- **Maoist support is on decline.** Most participants agreed with the Maoists' objectives – helping the poor, ending the caste system, reducing gambling, alcoholism and polygamy, and fighting corruption. Many participants said they thought the Maoists were making a positive impact prior to turning violent. However, their support, at least among our participants, has faded, mainly due to the means they are using to meet their ends. Strikes, the kidnapping of school children and the destruction of infrastructure are seen as unacceptable means to achieve their ends.
- **Resolving the Maoist situation.** Participants do not understand why the government, the political parties or the king cannot resolve the crisis. They think that all sides should meet in peace talks, and do not believe that the government's use of force is the proper way resolve the situation. Many participants were open to the idea of international assistance to the peace process. India, Japan, and to a lesser extent the United States, would be welcome as mediators.
- **Political parties not highly regarded.** The political parties were not held in high regard. They were thought to be interested in their own advancement, distant from the people and largely to blame for the current situation. Rural participants pointed out that only around elections were political parties seen in their areas. Participants stressed the importance of parties needing to “understand the people” and to “listen to the peoples' needs.”
- **RPP and the Prime Minister hindering democracy.** Participants largely believed that the RPP was weak, due to their alliance with the King and the following of his wishes, and their inability to resolve the Maoist situation. There was a sense that the prime minister was trying to break away from the party so that “he and the king can rule together.” As one participant said, the Prime Minister “only cares about the King and not the people.”
- **Nepali Congress large but divided.** The NC was seen to be particularly influential, despite not being in power. Attitudes toward the NC were mostly negative, aside from the two groups comprised of supporters. Some participants said the Maoists emerged in part as result of NC failures when the party governed. The party's negative attributes, according to the participants, include infighting and an association with the wealthy. Nevertheless, most participants believed it is essential for the NC to be a part of any solution to the Maoist situation, and the credit the party with looking to international assistance.

- **CPN programs recognized.** Participants viewed the CPN in a slightly better light than the other parties, although they noted that some of their “lower-level” members had broken away to join the Maoists. Participants pointed out several programs that the CPN had introduced, such as the pension program and “your own village” program, which granted interest-free loans to villages. Due to these programs, and the party’s desire to remove the caste system, participants’ thought it cared more about equality than the other parties.
- **The King not highly regarded.** There was a general feeling that the King has had a negative impact on Nepalese democracy, particularly with his appointment of the current prime minister. Participants’ believed that his actions were intended only to strengthen his own power. They did give him credit for traveling to rural areas on listening tours, although they were skeptical that any policy actions would come from this. Some participants also credited the King with trying to resolve the Maoist conflict and blamed the political parties for hampering his efforts. In terms of the general role of the King, most participants felt that Nepal needs to have a strong King, but they also thought he should not be involved in running the government.
- **Army is part of the problem.** Participants had almost as much fear for the Royal Nepal Army as they did for the Maoists. The perception that the Army has a “shoot first; ask questions later” philosophy has had a tremendously negative impact on its public image. Some participants thought that the Army has not been given the proper authority to resolve the situation, but most thought the Army needed more restraint and guidance from superiors.
- **True democracy not found in Nepal.** The participants generally believed that Nepal was only part democratic, particularly since the King had installed his own prime minister. Participants believed that Nepal was still part monarchy, part democracy and part military rule. As one female rural Nepalese put it, “Democracy is there but we don’t feel it.” There was no consensus, however, on how to make Nepal fully democratic. A multi-party system was seen to be fundamental for a thriving democracy, yet participants believed that the multi-party system was part of the downfall of democracy in Nepal. Participants think that elections are a principal tenet of democracy, but, as noted, they also think elections should not take place until there is peace in Nepal. There was some nostalgia associated with the Panchayat system, because of the peace and greater employment in the country during at that time, although most participants thought corruption was more rampant then.
- **Gender and caste issue appear to be generational.** There was a general feeling that gender and caste discrimination is on the decline. However, many participants felt that Nepalese might say that women and all castes are equal, while believing otherwise. Not surprisingly, younger participants were much more open to having women play a larger role in Nepalese society and politics and were more likely to disagree with the caste system. In the older and the upper-class groups, a few participants said that women and lower caste members were partly to blame for their inferior status because they were not more assertive in speak up for themselves.

May 14-June 14, 2004

3214 Respondents

NEPAL
FREQUENCY QUESTIONNAIRE

Q.10 Generally speaking, do you think that things in Nepal are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

	Total
Right direction, very	1
Right direction, somewhat	2
Wrong direction, somewhat	11
Wrong direction, very	83
(Neither)	0
(Don't know/Refused)	2
Total right	4
Total wrong	95
Right - Wrong	-2
(ref:DIRECT)	

Q.11 Now, I am going to read you a list of concerns that people have. Please tell me which TWO of these concern you the most in your daily life.

	Total
Lack of jobs	45
Maoist violence	37
Corruption	33
Education	17
Political parties not united	13
Lack of money	12
Roads, electricity and other services are not adequate	6
Abuses by security forces	5
Democracy	4
Health care	3
Women not given equal rights with men	2
People of a lower caste treated badly	2
Maoist extortion	2
Crime	2
Bandhs and protests	2
Republic	1
Other	2
(Don't know/refused)	5
(ref:CONC1)	

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and things, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. The list includes people and things that many Nepalese have not heard of, so if you have no opinion or never heard of that person or organization, please say so.

	Mean	% Warm	% Cool	% ID
11 Surya Bahadur Thapa.....	32.2	13	52	85
12 King Gyanendra	36.5	20	50	91
13 Rashtriya Prajantantra Party.....	31.1	13	58	85
14 Nepali Congress Party.....	39.0	21	49	89
15 Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist).....	43.5	26	44	89
16 Maoists.....	25.5	8	58	80
17 Royal Nepal Army	50.4	33	26	76
18 Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority.....	59.1	44	18	74
19 Panchayat system.....	28.9	14	58	85
20 Chairman Prachanda	26.9	9	48	67
[1607 Respondents]				
21 (SPLIT A) G.P. Koirala	33.1	15	56	88
[1607 Respondents]				
22 (SPLIT B) Sher Deuba.....	33.9	14	54	84
[1607 Respondents]				
23 (SPLIT A) Baburam Bhattarai	29.6	12	52	76
[1607 Respondents]				
24 (SPLIT B) Madav Kumar Nepal.....	40.1	21	46	84
25 Political parties.....	43.5	25	40	86
26 Nepal Sadbhawana Party, or the NSP	26.9	11	55	74
27 Nepali Congress-Democratic, or the NC-D	31.6	12	56	81

	Mean	% Warm	% Cool	% ID
28 Janamorcha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal	25.0	7	54	70
29 Election Commission	54.1	43	26	92
30 Workers and Peasants Party	29.5	11	52	73
31 The police..... (ref:THERM2)	46.3	30	37	93

Q.32 Now imagine that national elections are called this year. How likely would you be to vote in the elections, on a scale of 1 to 10, where 10 means you are certain to vote and 1 means you are certain not to vote? You can choose any number from 1 to 10.

	Total
1	3
2	1
3	1
4	1
5	16
6	2
7	6
8	5
9	8
10	52
Don't know/Refused.....	5
10	52
6-9	21
5	16
1-4	6
(ref:VOTELIK)	

Q.33 If national elections were held today, which party would you vote for?

	Total
Nepal Communist Party - Unified Marxist Lenin (NCP-UML)	20
Nepali Congress (NC).....	13
Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP).....	6
Nepali Congress-Democratic (NC-D)	4
Nepal Sadbhawana Party (NSP)	1
Janamorcha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal	1
(Maoist).....	1
(Do not want to say)	30
(Other)	9
(Undecided)	15
(ref:VOTEAE)	

Q.35 Now, imagine that the national elections were held today, and the same parties ran candidates along with the Maoists, which party would you vote for?

	Total
Nepal Communist Party - Unified Marxist Lenin (NCP-UML)	16
Nepali Congress (NC).....	12
Maoist	8
Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP).....	5
Nepali Congress-Democratic (NC-D)	4
Nepal Sadbhawana Party (NSP)	1
Janamorchha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal	1
(Do not want to say)	36
(Other)	5
(Undecided)	13
(ref:VOTEB)	

Q.37 Do you approve or disapprove of the job that Suryabhadur Thapa is doing as prime minister?

	Total
Strongly approve.....	5
Somewhat approve.....	37
Somewhat disapprove.....	17
Strongly disapprove	22
(Don't know/Refused).....	18
Total approve	42
Total disapprove	39
Approve - disapprove	3
(ref:PMJOB)	

Q.38 Do you approve or disapprove of how King Gyanendra is performing his duties?

	Total
Strongly approve.....	9
Somewhat approve.....	37
Somewhat disapprove.....	17
Strongly disapprove	26
(Don't know/Refused).....	12
Total approve	46
Total disapprove	42
Approve - disapprove	4
(ref:KINGJOB)	

Q.39 Which of the following do you think would be the best form of government for Nepal: Absolute monarchy, Panchayat, Democracy with a constitutional monarch, or Democracy without a constitutional monarch?

	Total
Democracy with a constitutional monarchy	60
Democracy without a monarchy	17
Panchayat.....	9
Absolute monarchy	2
Other	0
(Don't know/Refused).....	11
Total Democracy	77
Total Non democracy	11
Democracy - Non democracy	66
(ref:GOVTFORM)	

Q.40 Do you approve or disapprove of a constitutional monarch playing a role in the governance and policy-making of Nepal?

	Total
Strongly approve.....	11
Somewhat approve.....	38
Somewhat disapprove.....	15
Strongly disapprove	16
(Don't know/Refused).....	20
Total approve	49
Total disapprove	31
Approve - disapprove	18
(ref:GOVTMON)	

Q.41 Do you think that things in Nepal are generally better or generally worse now than under the Panchayat system?

	Total
Better, strongly	3
Better, somewhat	23
Worse, somewhat.....	19
Worse, strongly.....	48
(Don't know/Refused).....	7
Total Better.....	26
Total Worse	66
Better - Worse	-40
(ref:PANCH)	

[850 Respondents]

Q.42 Why do you think things are better today than they were under the Panchayat system?

	Total
More personal freedoms	55
Citizens had more input into government.....	47
More control over government	23
Better economy	12
Less corruption	4
Development Work has increased	4
Means of communication has increased	0
Press freedom.....	0
Other	5
(ref:PANCOPEN)	

[2135 Respondents]

Q.43 Why do you think things are worse today than they were under the Panchayat system?

	Total
More corruption	66
More crime.....	61
Maoist violence.....	30
Bandhs, protests	11
Weaker economy	8
Because of political party	1
Gap between rich and poor	0
Lack of employment	0
Other	3
(ref:PANCBAD)	

Q.44 Thinking back to when the King removed the elected prime minister in October 2002 and appointed his own prime minister, do you approve or disapprove of the King's decision to remove the elected prime minister and assume executive power?

	Total
Strongly approve.....	7
Somewhat approve.....	18
Somewhat disapprove	16
Strongly disapprove	34
(Don't know/Refused).....	25
Total approve	25
Total disapprove	50
Approve - disapprove	-25
(ref:KINGPOW)	

Q.45 Now I would like to ask you something a little different. I would like you to rate how democratic Nepal is on a scale of 0 to 10. Ten means that Nepal is fully democratic; 0 means that Nepal is a not democratic at all. Five is the mid-point, and you can choose any number from 0 to 10.

	Mean	% 10	% 8-10	% 6-10	% 0-5	DK/ Ref
Democracy scale	4.2	3	11	21	70	9
(ref:DEMOC)						

Q.46 Now I would like to ask you about how democracy has worked in Nepal since 1991. First, what has been the best thing about democracy in Nepal?

	Total
Greater personal freedoms	57
Greater rights for women	4
Free press	3
More jobs	1
Regular elections	1
Greater rights for lower castes	1
Stronger political parties	1
Development	1
Development in education	1
Road/water/electricity	1
Less corruption	0
Other	7
(Don't know/refused)	22
(ref:DEMOIMPT)	

Q.47 What has been the thing that you have most disliked about democracy?

	Total
More corruption	32
More violence	32
Maoists became more active	7
More crime	6
Political party infighting	5
Bandhs	5
Political parties fighting with each other	3
Less stability	1
Worse economy	1
Other	2
(Don't know/refused)	5
(ref:DEMOPROB)	

Q.48 Now I want to read some different aspects of democracy. For each one, please tell me how important you think it is to democracy in Nepal. Tell me whether it is a very important for democracy in Nepal, somewhat important, a little important, or not an important aspect at all for democracy in Nepal.

	A						
	Very Imp	Smwt Imp	Ltle Imp	Not Imp	DK/ Ref	Very/ Smwt	Ltle/ Not
48 Freedom of self-expression.....	91	5	0	0	4	96	0
49 Freedom of press.....	80	12	1	1	6	92	2
50 Regular, free and fair elections	86	8	1	1	4	94	2
51 Equal rights for women.....	84	12	1	0	3	96	1
52 An end to the caste system.....	68	17	6	5	4	85	11
53 Freedom to protest and demonstrate	60	18	8	7	6	79	16
54 Equal access to justice	87	9	1	0	3	96	1
55 Citizen participation in government decision- making	82	9	2	0	7	91	2
(ref:DEMOITEM)							

Q.56 I am now going to read you a list of things that citizens can do. Please tell me which ones you believe that citizens should do. You can choose as few or as many as you want.

	Total
Obey laws	94
Vote	90
Pay taxes	80
Participate in policy-making.....	80
Run for office.....	72
Other	3
(ref:DEMCITIZ)	

Q.57 Now I am going to read you a list of things that government can do. Please tell me which one you believe the government should do for its people. You can choose as few or as many as you want.

	Total
Provide domestic security	94
Provide for national defense	91
Provide health care	89
Provide economic opportunity.....	88
Provide education	87
Provide pensions	80
Other	1
(ref:DEMGVOT)	

Q.58 Do you think calling a bandh is an effective or ineffective way of promoting a political agenda?

	Total
Very effective	5
Somewhat effective	10
Somewhat ineffective	9
Very ineffective	73
(Don't know/Refused)	3
Total Effective	15
Total Ineffective	82
Effective - Ineffective	-67
(ref:BANDHS)	

Q.59 Now I want to ask you something a little different. Generally speaking, which TWO of the following do you think are the most important attributes for a political leader?

	Total
Honesty	60
Concern for the people.....	56
Has good ideas for the country	50
Intelligence	18
Previous political experience	5
Wealth.....	1
Charisma	1
Not associated with the current or previous governments	1
Other	2
(Don't know/refused)	2
(ref:LEADERS)	

[1607 Respondents]

Q.60 (SPLIT A) Now I am going to read you two statements and I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

Men and women should have equal rights and opportunities in Nepal.

OR

Men should have more rights and opportunities than women in Nepal.

	Total
Equal, much closer.....	76
Equal, somewhat closer	8
Men more rights, somewhat closer	6
Men more rights, much closer	1
(Both).....	8
(Neither/Don't Know/Ref)	1
Total Equal.....	84
Total Men more.....	7
Equal - Men more	77
(ref:GENPAIR1)	

[1607 Respondents]

Q.61 (SPLIT B) Now I am going to read you two statements and I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

Women should be as active in politics as men.

OR

Men should play more of a leading role than women in politics.

	Total
Women active, much closer.....	40
Women active, somewhat closer	15
Men leading role, somewhat closer	7
Men leading role, much closer.....	3
(Both).....	21
(Neither).....	6
(Don't know/Refused).....	9
Total Women active.....	54
Total Men leading.....	10
Women active - Men leading.....	44
(ref:GENPAIR2)	

[1639 Respondents]

Q.62 (FEMALE) Many women have told us that their husbands or the male in their household instruct them whom to vote for. How about you: do you think most women decide for themselves whom to vote for, or does the male in their household tell them whom to vote for or pressure them to vote a certain way?

	Total
Woman decides.....	52
Husband or male decides	47
(Don't vote/haven't voted).....	1
(Don't know/refused)	1

Woman decides - Husband or male decides5
(ref:FEMVOTE)

[1575 Respondents]

Q.63 (MALE) Many women have told us that their husband or the male in the household tells them whom to vote for. What do you think: do women decide for themselves on whom to vote for, or does their husband or the male in their household decide for them whom to vote for?

	Total
Woman decides.....	50
Husband or male decides	49
(Don't know/refused)	1

Woman decides - Husband decides1
(ref:MALEVOTE)

Q.64 When it comes time to vote, which of the following are the main factors that determines which way you will vote.

	Total
The individual candidate.....	77
The political party	41
The party's platform or message	25
The party leader	17
Ties you might have to a party.....	8
According to sincerity.....	2
One who is not related with any party and is capable.....	1
(Other)	2
(Don't know/refused)	6

(ref:WHYVOTE)

Q.65 Do you approve or disapprove of the caste system in Nepal?

	Total
Strongly approve.....	9
Somewhat approve.....	27
Somewhat disapprove.....	15
Strongly disapprove.....	48
(Don't know/Refused).....	1
Total approve	36
Total disapprove	63
Approve - disapprove	-27
(ref:CASTEQ)	

[2031 Respondents]

Q.66 What can be done to change the caste system in Nepal?

	Total
More scholarships for education of lower castes.....	54
More government positions for lower castes.....	39
Enforcement of existing laws	32
More equal opportunity laws for all castes and non-caste persons	31
Nothing, only time will change this.....	12
By spreading awareness.....	6
Equality of castes.....	2
By eradicating poverty.....	0
Other	8
(ref:CASTEDO)	

Q.67 Now I am going to read you two statements and I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

Generally speaking, Nepalese political parties govern in the interests of the people.

OR

Generally speaking, Nepalese political parties govern on behalf of themselves.

	Total
Interests of the people, much closer.....	5
Interests of the people, somewhat closer	4
Own interests, somewhat closer.....	15
Own interests, much closer.....	69
(Both).....	4
(Don't know/Refused).....	2
Total People.....	9
Total Own interests.....	85
People - Own interests	-76
(ref:PTYPAIR)	

[1607 Respondents]

Q.68 (SPLIT B) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Nepali Congress very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

	Very Well	Well	Not too Well	Not at All	DK/ Ref	Total Well	Total Not	Well - Not
68 Cares about people like me	12	26	10	36	16	38	46	-8
69 Can fix Nepal's problems	11	26	12	34	17	37	46	-9
70 Corrupt.....	35	21	9	15	19	57	24	32
71 Too much infighting	36	21	7	13	24	56	20	36
72 Too close to the king.....	14	28	11	11	35	42	23	19
73 Have taken things too far	14	21	15	16	35	35	30	5
(ref:NCATT)								

[1607 Respondents]

Q.74 (SPLIT A) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Maoists very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

	Very Well	Well	Not too Well	Not at All	DK/ Ref	Total Well	Total Not	Well - Not
74 Cares about people like me	6	22	9	29	35	27	38	-11
75 Can fix Nepal's problems	6	20	10	27	37	25	38	-12
76 Corrupt	10	16	7	21	46	26	28	-2
77 Too much infighting	3	9	6	28	54	12	34	-22
78 Have taken things too far	13	15	12	16	46	27	27	0

(ref:MAOATT)

[1607 Respondents]

Q.80 (SPLIT A) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Janamorchha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal, very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

	Very Well	Well	Not too Well	Not at All	DK/ Ref	Total Well	Total Not	Well - Not
80 Cares about people like me	4	19	10	17	50	24	26	-2
81 Can fix Nepal's problems	2	20	10	18	50	22	28	-6
82 Corrupt	7	14	10	11	57	22	21	1
83 Too close to the king	5	15	9	9	63	20	17	3
84 Too much infighting	2	11	8	14	65	13	23	-10
85 Have taken things too far	2	11	10	12	65	13	22	-9

(ref:PFATT)

[1607 Respondents]

Q.86 (SPLIT B) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Communist Party of Nepal very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

	Very Well	Well	Not too Well	Not at All	DK/ Ref	Total Well	Total Not	Well - Not
86 Cares about people like me	17	34	9	22	17	51	32	19
87 Can fix Nepal's problems	14	35	11	21	18	50	32	17
88 Corrupt	20	28	14	16	22	49	29	20
89 Too close to the king	22	25	11	13	29	47	24	23
90 Too much infighting	6	23	13	20	39	28	32	-4
91 Have taken things too far	7	20	16	17	40	27	33	-6

(ref:CPNATT)

[1607 Respondents]

Q.92 (SPLIT B) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Rashtriya Prajantantra Party very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

	Very Well	Well	Not too Well	Not at All	DK/ Ref	Total Well	Total Not	Well - Not
92 Cares about people like me	7	21	13	37	21	28	50	-22
93 Can fix Nepal's problems	5	22	13	38	22	27	51	-24
94 Corrupt	32	20	10	15	25	51	24	27
95 Too close to the king	36	18	8	11	27	54	19	35
96 Too much infighting	47	17	3	5	29	64	7	57
97 Have taken things too far	17	19	13	13	37	36	27	10

(ref:RPPATT)

[1607 Respondents]

Q.98 (SPLIT A) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Nepali Congress-Democratic very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

	Very Well	Well	Not too Well	Not at All	DK/ Ref	Total Well	Total Not	Well - Not
98 Cares about people like me	10	24	10	27	29	34	37	-3
99 Can fix Nepal's problems	7	25	11	27	29	33	38	-6
100 Corrupt	24	20	11	14	31	44	25	19
101 Too close to the king	19	20	10	11	41	38	21	17
102 Too much infighting	13	30	8	8	40	43	16	27
103 Have taken things too far	9	20	11	13	48	28	23	5
(ref:NCDATT)								

Q.104 As we discussed, national elections might be called this year. Do you favor or oppose holding national elections this year?

	Total
Strongly favor	62
Somewhat favor	21
Somewhat oppose	4
Strongly oppose	5
(Don't know/Refused)	8
Total favor	83
Total oppose	9
Favor - Oppose	74
(ref:ELECT)	

Q.105 In regard to the next elections, under whose authority would the most credible elections take place?

	Total
An all-party government	75
The King	9
A restored parliament	4
The Maoists	3
Coalition Government	0
An all party government including the Maoists	0
Nobody is trustworthy	0
(Other)	8
(ref:ELECCRED)	

Q.106 Do you think elections can only be held if there is a cease-fire or decrease in the level of violence, or do you think elections can be held whether or not there is a cease fire or decrease in the level of violence?

	Total
Only if cease-fire, strongly	87
Only if cease-fire, somewhat	6
Whether or not, somewhat	2
Whether or not, strongly	1
(Don't know/Refused).....	3
Total Only if cease fire.....	94
Total Whether or not.....	3
Only if cease fire - Whether or not.....	90
(ref:ELECFIRE)	

Q.107 Now I am going to read you a list of conditions under which the Maoists could be allowed to participate in national elections? After I read each one, please tell me where you would approve or disapprove or the Maoists participating in elections under those conditions.

	Strng	Smwt	Smwt	Strng	DK/	Total	Total	App
	App	Dis	Dis	App	Ref	App	Dis	-
[1607 Respondents]								
107 (SPLIT B) They lay down their arms.....	38	19	8	11	24	57	19	38
[1607 Respondents]								
108 (SPLIT A) They commit to a ceasefire.....	40	19	7	12	21	59	20	39
109 They agree to allow safe elections and candidate campaigning.....	32	23	10	12	23	55	22	33
[1607 Respondents]								
110 (SPLIT A) They should be allowed to participate under any circumstances	27	13	8	32	20	41	40	1
[1607 Respondents]								
111 (SPLIT B) They should not be allowed to participate under any circumstance.....	23	13	8	33	22	37	41	-5
(ref:ELECTMAO)								

Q.112 Generally speaking, do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of the Maoists?

	Total
Favorable, strongly	3
Favorable, somewhat	15
Unfavorable, somewhat	18
Unfavorable, strongly	45
(Don't know/Refused)	18
Total Favorable	19
Total Unfavorable	63
Favorable - Unfavorable	-44
(ref:MAOFAV)	

[1607 Respondents]

Q.113 (SPLIT A) Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the Maoists' goals?

	Total
Strongly approve	9
Somewhat approve	25
Somewhat disapprove	13
Strongly disapprove	30
(Don't know/Refused)	23
Total approve	34
Total disapprove	43
Approve - disapprove	-9
(ref:MAOGOAL)	

[1607 Respondents]

Q.114 (SPLIT B) I want to read you some goals that the Maoists say they believe in:

Free and compulsory education for all, free health services, an end to the caste discrimination, women having equal rights as men, the redistribution of land, and formation of a republic without a King, among other goals.

Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the Maoists' goals?

	Total
Strongly approve.....	13
Somewhat approve.....	34
Somewhat disapprove.....	14
Strongly disapprove	23
(Don't know/Refused).....	15
Total approve	48
Total disapprove	23
Approve - disapprove	25
(ref:MAOGOAL2)	

Q.115 Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the violent tactics practiced by the Maoists to advance their agenda?

	Total
Strongly approve.....	4
Somewhat approve.....	17
Somewhat disapprove.....	18
Strongly disapprove	43
(Don't know/Refused).....	18
Total approve	21
Total disapprove	61
Approve - disapprove	-40
(ref:MAOTACT)	

Q.116 The Maoists promise to establish a multi-party system if they come to power. How much do you trust the Maoists to establish a multi-party system if they come to power? Do you trust them completely, somewhat, just a little, or do you not trust them at all?

	Total
Complete trust.....	4
Some trust	16
Just a little trust.....	19
No trust at all	32
(Don't know/Refused).....	30
Total Complete/Some trust	19
Total Little/No trust.....	51
(ref:MAOPARTY)	

Q.117 What is more responsible for the rise of the Maoists:

Long-standing problems like poverty and repression

OR

The political parties' inability to fix the country's problems

	Total
Long-standing problems	50
Political parties' inability	38
(Corruption)	1
(Politicization Policy)	0
(Due to fear).....	0
(Others)	12
(ref:LONGRESP)	

Q.118 Do you approve or disapprove of the government's current handling of the conflict with the Maoists?

	Total
Strongly approve.....	3
Somewhat approve.....	24
Somewhat disapprove.....	25
Strongly disapprove	23
(Don't know/Refused).....	25
Total approve	27
Total disapprove	48
Approve - disapprove	-21
(ref:GOVTMAO)	

Q.119 Do you think the government should negotiate with the Maoists or do you think the government should try to defeat the Maoists militarily?

	Total
Negotiate, strongly.....	93
Negotiate, somewhat.....	3
Military, somewhat.....	1
Military, strongly.....	1
(Don't know/Refused).....	3
Total Negotiate.....	96
Total Military.....	1
Negotiate - Military.....	95
(ref:GOVTGIVE)	

Q.120 Who do you trust more to protect you in your community: the Maoists or the Royal Nepal Army?

	Total
Royal Nepal Army.....	34
Maoists.....	4
(Both).....	6
(Neither).....	42
(Don't know/Refused).....	14
Royal Nepal Army - Maoists.....	31
(ref:FEAR)	

Q.121 Now I am going to read you a list of things that can be done with regard to the conflict in Nepal. For each one please tell me if you approve or disapprove of that action.

	Strng App	Smwt App	Smwt Dis	Strng Dis	DK/ Ref	Total App	Total Dis	App - Dis
[1607 Respondents]								
121 (SPLIT A) Hold peace talks among the King, the political parties and the Maoists.....	91	5	0	0	3	96	0	96
[1607 Respondents]								
122 (SPLIT B) Hold peace talks between the King and the Maoists	80	11	3	3	3	90	6	84
[1607 Respondents]								
123 (SPLIT B) Hold new national elections this year.....	67	21	3	3	6	88	6	83
[1607 Respondents]								
124 (SPLIT A) Hold new national elections, which would include the Maoists if they lay down their arms	74	16	1	2	7	90	3	87
[1607 Respondents]								
125 (SPLIT A) Provide weapons to citizens in rural areas so they can defend themselves against the Maoists.....	9	8	12	64	8	16	75	-59
[1607 Respondents]								
126 (SPLIT A) Place security forces at the border between India and Nepal so that weapons cannot be smuggled into the country	47	27	8	5	14	74	13	61
[1607 Respondents]								
127 (SPLIT B) Increase the size and provide better weapons to the Royal Nepal Army to help them defeat or weaken the Maoists.....	13	16	15	47	10	28	62	-34
[1607 Respondents]								
128 (SPLIT B) Give amnesty to all Maoists that turn in their weapons and renounce violence	64	22	3	3	8	87	6	81
[1607 Respondents]								
129 (SPLIT B) Establish a unity government made of all the political parties	62	21	3	3	10	83	7	76

	Strng App	Smwt App	Smwt Dis	Strng Dis	DK/ Ref	Total App	Total Dis	App - Dis
[1607 Respondents]								
130 (SPLIT A) Establish a unity government made up of all the political parties and the Maoists.....	63	19	5	3	11	82	7	74
[1607 Respondents]								
131 (SPLIT A) Hold a constituent assembly to create a new constitution.....	38	23	8	7	25	61	15	46
[1607 Respondents]								
132 (SPLIT A) Return to the Panchayat system	12	12	10	53	13	24	63	-39
[1607 Respondents]								
133 (SPLIT B) Limit the powers of the monarchy	43	23	7	5	21	66	13	54
[1607 Respondents]								
134 (SPLIT A) Hold peace talks between the political parties and the Maoists.....	76	14	3	2	6	90	4	86
[1607 Respondents]								
135 (SPLIT B) Have citizens take responsibility for their own defense.....	19	16	15	39	11	35	54	-19
[1607 Respondents]								
136 (SPLIT A) Form a democratic republic without a monarch.....	20	20	13	26	20	40	40	0
[1607 Respondents]								
137 (SPLIT B) Form a Maoist "People's Republic"	12	15	14	32	26	28	46	-19
[1607 Respondents]								
138 (SPLIT B) Create a National Peace Commission with the participation of the private sector, civil society, and others	62	21	2	2	12	83	4	79

	Strng App	Smwt App	Smwt Dis	Strng Dis	DK/ Ref	Total App	Total Dis	App - Dis
[1607 Respondents]								
139 (SPLIT A) Bring an international delegation to moderate peace talks between the Maoists and the government	30	17	6	29	18	47	35	12

[1607 Respondents]								
140 (SPLIT B) Bring international peacekeepers to Nepal.....	9	7	7	64	14	16	70	-55
(ref:MAOANSW)								

Q.141 What international delegation do you think would be most effective at moderating the conflict in Nepal?

	Total
United Nations	35
India	12
United States	8
China.....	1
Great Britain	1
Other	28
Not required	15
(ref:MAOINTL)	

[1607 Respondents]
Q.142 (SPLIT A) Do you think the United States is playing a positive or negative role in helping to resolve the Maoist conflict?

	Total
Strongly positive	4
Somewhat positive	22
Somewhat negative	11
Strongly negative	17
(Does not play a role)	3
(Don't know/Refused).....	44
Total Positive	25
Total Negative	28
Positive - Negative.....	-3
(ref:MAOUS)	

[1607 Respondents]

Q.143 (SPLIT B) Do you think India is playing a positive or negative role in helping to resolve the Maoist conflict?

	Total
Strongly positive	4
Somewhat positive	26
Somewhat negative	14
Strongly negative	17
(Does not play a role)	4
(Don't know/Refused)	35
Total Positive	29
Total Negative	31
Positive - Negative	-2
(ref:MAOINDIA)	

Q.144 Now I would like to read you some things that different political parties might say. After I read each one, please tell me whether the statement would make you much more likely to support that political party, somewhat more likely, just a little more likely, or no more likely.

	Much More Likly	Smwt More Likly	Lttle More Likly	No More Likly	DK/ Ref	Much/ Smwt More	Lttle/ No More
[1607 Respondents]							
144 (SPLIT A) We will not resolve our present difficulties until political parties stop fighting with each other and unite to solve Nepal's problems.....	65	23	4	4	4	88	8
[1607 Respondents]							
145 (SPLIT B) We urge all parties to put aside their differences, stop attacking each other, and develop a common plan to end the conflict and solve the country's economic and security problems.....	65	21	6	3	5	86	9
[1607 Respondents]							
146 (SPLIT A) We reject the Maoists' tactics but we share their stated goal of making Nepal a more just and equitable country.	47	33	6	6	7	80	12
[1607 Respondents]							
147 (SPLIT B) We believe Nepal cannot succeed without creating fair educational and employment opportunities for people of all castes and ethnic backgrounds.	57	27	8	3	5	85	10
[1607 Respondents]							
148 (SPLIT A) We call on the government, other parties, and the Maoists to begin negotiations immediately to end the conflict and agree on a plan to create jobs and increase economic and physical security.....	61	23	6	4	6	85	10
[1607 Respondents]							
149 (SPLIT B) The source of most of Nepal's problems is unemployment, as people without jobs lose hope and turn to violence and crime. In order to encourage job creation, we will create tax incentives for Nepali and international businesses that hire at least 25 Nepalese.	54	27	9	4	6	82	13

	Much More Likly	Smwt More Likly	Lttle More Likly	No More Likly	DK/ Ref	Much/ Smwt More	Lttle/ No More
150 Political parties need to acknowledge their responsibility for Nepal's problems. Too often, they have sought power to enrich themselves. We recognize our mistakes and will force our leaders to keep their promises and remain free from corruption, or we will remove them from the party.	61	23	6	5	6	83	11
(ref:PARTYMSG)							

Q.151 Now I am going to read you some things that political parties could do if elected to office. For each proposal, please tell me if it would make you much more likely to vote for that political party, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, or no more likely to vote for that political party.

	Much More Likly	Smwt More Likly	Lttle More Likly	No More Likly	DK/ Ref	Much/ Smwt More	Lttle/ No More
[1607 Respondents]							
151 (SPLIT B) Increase penalties and jail sentences for government officials found guilty of corruption	58	15	5	11	7	4	72 78
[1607 Respondents]							
152 (SPLIT A) Provide incentives for government and businesses to hire more women, especially for higher level positions	50	18	6	14	8	3	68 75
[1607 Respondents]							
153 (SPLIT B) Give more college scholarships to women so they will have more job opportunities	51	22	6	10	7	3	74 80
[1607 Respondents]							
154 (SPLIT A) Give money to programs like "Build your own village" so villages will have clean drinking water, schools, electricity and telephone lines.....	50	21	6	13	9	3	71 76
[1607 Respondents]							
155 (SPLIT B) Develop a new highway system to better connect East and West Nepal in order to increase commerce and create jobs	48	21	8	12	7	4	69 77

		Much More Likly	Smwt More Likly	Lttle More Likly	No More Likly	DK/ Ref	Much/ Smwt More	Lttle/ No More
[1607 Respondents]								
156 (SPLIT A) Provide low-income families with vouchers to pay for school clothing and books	46	20	8	14	9	3	66	75
[1607 Respondents]								
157 (SPLIT B) Increase the number of community health centers so waiting times to see doctors are shorter and medicines are cheaper and easier to acquire	53	19	6	12	6	4	72	78
[1607 Respondents]								
158 (SPLIT A) Develop regional job centers to train Nepalese workers and help them find jobs	47	20	7	13	8	4	67	75
[1607 Respondents]								
159 (SPLIT B) Provide grants and low-interest loans to families so they can build or improve their own homes or start small businesses.....	49	18	9	12	7	4	68	77
[1607 Respondents]								
160 (SPLIT A) Redistribute of 15 percent of Nepal's agricultural land to the people that work the land.....	37	20	11	17	11	4	57	68
[1607 Respondents]								
161 (SPLIT B) Increase provision of state care for the destitute, elderly and children by 25 percent.....	46	22	8	13	8	4	68	75
[1607 Respondents]								
162 (SPLIT A) Establish programs to give more opportunity for people from lower castes or non-caste people to own property, start businesses, be hired for jobs, receive training and, go to college.....	48	19	7	13	9	3	68	75
163 Call for immediate peace talks with the Maoists..... (ref:PROPS)	63	13	3	10	6	4	77	80

Q.164 Finally, I would like to ask you some questions for statistical purposes. Many people were unable to vote in the national election in 1999. How about you? Were you able to vote, or for some reason were you unable to vote?

	Total
Voted	74
Ineligible/Too young	6
Did not vote	19
(Can't remember/Don't know/Refused)	1
(ref:DIDVOTE2)	

[2337 Respondents]

Q.165 Which party did you vote for in the 1999 national elections?

	Total
Nepali Congress (NC).....	34
Nepal Communist Party - Unified Marxist Lenin (NCP-UML)	34
Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP).....	11
Janamorcha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal	6
Nepal Sadbhawana Party (NSP)	1
Nepali Congress-Democratic (NC-D)	1
CPMUML	1
Other	1
(Don't know/Refused/Didn't Vote)	11
(ref:PRESVOTE)	

Q.166 Generally, speaking, which political party do you identify the most with?

	Total
Nepal Communist Party - Unified Marxist Lenin (NCP-UML)	17
Nepali Congress (NC).....	13
Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP).....	5
Nepali Congress-Democratic (NC-D)	4
Nepal Sadbhawana Party (NSP)	1
Janamorcha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal	1
Maoist	0
(Other)	1
(None).....	47
(Don't know/Refused).....	12
(ref:PTYID)	

Q.167 Which caste or ethnic group do you belong to?

	Total
Brahmin	25
Chhetri	21
Tharu.....	10
Dalit	10
Newar.....	9
Yadav/Guhat	7
Tamang	5
Magar.....	4
Muslim.....	3
Limbu.....	2
Rai.....	2
Gurung.....	2
Other/DK/Ref	1
(ref:CASTE)	

Q.168 Which of these descriptions applies to your employment situation?

	Total
Shop owner	41
Housewife	29
Student	8
Unskilled worker/laborer	7
Skilled worker.....	4
Military	3
Government worker	2
Retired	2
Petty trade	1
Business owner	1
Farmer.....	1
Supervisor	1
Self-employed professional	0
Clerical/salesman	0
Executive	0
Unemployed.....	0
(Don't know/refused)	-
(ref:EMPLOY)	

Q.169 What is the total monthly income of your household?

	Total
Less than 500 Rs.....	2
501 - 1,000 Rs.....	3
1,001 - 3,000 Rs.....	23
3,001 - 5,000 Rs.....	31
5,001 - 10,000 Rs.....	21
10,001 - 15,000 Rs.....	5
15,001 - 20,000 Rs.....	2
20,001 - 30,000 Rs.....	1
30,001 - 50,000 Rs.....	0
Over 50,000 Rs	0
(Don't know/Refused).....	12
Over 15,000.....	3
(ref:INCOME)	

Q.171 Respondent's openness to expressing their true point of view.

	Total
Very open and had no reservations.....	35
Somewhat open and generally had no reservations	27
Had some concerns and was reserved.....	23
Very concerned and likely did not express true opinions	13
Don't know/hard to tell	1
(ref:INTER)	

Q.172 Locale

	Total
Rural	86
Urban	14
(ref:LOCALIDA)	

Q.173

	Total
Terai.....	53
Hill	43
Mountain.....	4
(ref:AREA)	

Q.174 Region

	Total
Eastern Mountain.....	2
Eastern Hill	8
Eastern Tarai	16
Central Mountain	3
Central Hill	17
Central Tarai	19
Western Hill.....	13
Western Tarai.....	8
Mid-western Mountain	-
Mid-western Hill.....	1
Mid-western Tarai	6
Far-western Mountain.....	-
Far-western Hill	4
Far-western Tarai.....	5
Eastern	25
Central	38
Western	21
Mid-Western	7
Far-Western	8
(ref:REGION)	

Q.1 Sex of respondent

	Total
Male	49
Female	51
(ref:GENDER)	

Q.2 Can you tell me what year you were born?

	Total
18 - 24.....	21
25 - 29.....	16
30 - 34.....	14
35 - 39.....	11
40 - 44.....	10
45 - 49.....	8
50 - 54.....	6
55 - 59.....	5
60 - 64.....	4
Over 64	6
(ref:AGE)	

Q.3 What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

	Total
No schooling.....	42
Primary (1-5)	6
Lower secondary (6-7).....	26
Secondary (8-10)	21
S.L.C. & equivalent	1
Intermediate/Certificate	4
Graduate and above	0
(Don't know/Refused).....	-
S.L.C. and above	5
(ref:EDUC)	

Q.4 Socio economic level

	Total
A	5
B.....	16
C.....	25
D	35
E.....	19
(Don't know/Refused).....	0
(ref:SOCECONA)	

Q.5 Are you married, single, separated, divorced, or widowed?

	Total
Married	86
Single	12
Separated.....	0
Divorced	0
Widowed.....	2
(Don't know/Refused).....	-
(ref:MARITAL)	

[2829 Respondents]

Q.6 Do you have any children under the age of 18?

	Total
Yes	78
No	22
(Don't know/refused)	0
(ref:KIDS)	

Q.7 What is your religion?

	Total
Hindu	88
Buddhist.....	7
Islam	3
Kirat	2
Christian.....	1
Atheist.....	0
(Don't know/Refused).....	1
(ref:RELIGION)	

Q.8 Is there a television in your household?

	Total
Yes	49
No	50
(Don't know/refused)	1
(ref:TV)	

Q.9 What is your principal source of information about news in Nepal?

	Total
Radio.....	85
Friends and family	52
Television	50
Newspapers or magazines.....	29
Internet.....	2
(Other)	-
(Don't know/refused)	100
(ref:MEDIA)	

Questionnaire: NEPA

Version: Tue Apr 27 10:13:40 2004

Standard introduction - stress confidentiality

☐ 1 A/C

(ref:0)

Q.1 Sex of respondent (**INTERVIEWER CODE--DO NOT ASK RESPONDENT**)

- ☐ 1 Male
- ☐ 2 Female

(ref:GENDER)

Q.2 Can you tell me what year you were born?

(CODE FOUR DIGIT YEAR; DON'T KNOW/REFUSED = 9999)

(TERMINATE ONLY IF UNDER 18 - BORN BEFORE 1986)

____ 2 age

(ref:AGE)

Q.3 What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

- ☐ 1 No schooling
- ☐ 2 Primary (1-5)
- ☐ 3 Lower secondary (6-7)
- ☐ 4 Secondary (8-10)
- ☐ 5 S.L.C. & equivalent
- ☐ 6 Intermediate/Certificate
- ☐ 7 Graduate and above
- ☐ 8 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:EDUC)

Q.4 Socio economic level

- ☐ 1 A
- ☐ 2 B
- ☐ 3 C
- ☐ 4 D
- ☐ 5 E
- ☐ 6 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:SOCECONA)

Q.5 Are you married, single, separated, divorced, or widowed?

- ☐ 1 Married
- ☐ 2 Single
- ☐ 3 Separated
- ☐ 4 Divorced
- ☐ 5 Widowed
- ☐ 6 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:MARITAL)

Q.6 Do you have any children under the age of 18?

- ☐ 1 Yes
- ☐ 2 No
- ☐ 3 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:KIDS)

Q.7 What is your religion?

- ☐ 1 Hindu
- ☐ 2 Buddhist
- ☐ 3 Islam
- ☐ 4 Kirat
- ☐ 5 Other
- ☐ 6 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:RELIGION)

Q.8 Is there a television in your household?

- ☐ 1 Yes
- ☐ 2 No
- ☐ 3 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:TV)

Q.9 What is your principal source of information about news in Nepal?

- ☐ 1 Television
- ☐ 2 Radio
- ☐ 3 Newspapers or magazines
- ☐ 4 Internet
- ☐ 5 Friends and family
- ☐ 6 (Other)
- ☐ 7 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:MEDIA)

Q.10 Generally speaking, do you think that things in Nepal are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you feel this way strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Right direction, strongly
- ☐ 2 Right direction, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Wrong direction, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Wrong direction, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Neither or both directions) VOLUNTEERED ONLY
- ☐ 6 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:DIRECT)

Q.11 Now, I am going to read you a list of concerns that people have. Please tell me which TWO of these concern you the most in your daily life.

(USE SHOWCARD - READ LIST - RANDOMIZE ORDER)

(IF MORE THAN TWO) Well, which TWO concern you the most?

- ☐ 1 Lack of jobs
- ☐ 2 Education
- ☐ 3 Corruption
- ☐ 4 Democracy
- ☐ 5 Lack of money
- ☐ 6 Maoist violence
- ☐ 7 Health care
- ☐ 8 Roads, electricity and other services are not adequate
- ☐ 9 Abuses by security forces
- ☐ 10 Women not given equal rights with men
- ☐ 11 People of a lower caste treated badly
- ☐ 12 Political parties not united
- ☐ 13 Maoist extortion
- ☐ 14 Other: RECORD VERBATIM
- ☐ 15 (No second choice)
- ☐ 16 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:CONC1)

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and things, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. The list includes people and things that many Nepalese have not heard of, so if you have no opinion or never heard of that person or organization, please say so.

(IF DON'T KNOW:) Would you say you are unable to give an opinion of **(READ BELOW)**, or have you never heard of **(READ BELOW)**?

(NEVER HEARD = 998)

(NO OPINION = 999)

(READ BELOW) Give **(READ BELOW)** a rating, with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling; zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold

(RANDOMIZE ORDER AND USE SHOWCARD SHOWING SCALE)

- ___ 11 Surya Bahadur Thapa
- ___ 12 King Gyanendra
- ___ 13 Rashtriya Prajantantra Party, or the RPP
- ___ 14 Nepali Congress Party, or the NC
- ___ 15 Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist), or the CPN-UML
- ___ 16 Maoists
- ___ 17 Royal Nepal Army
- ___ 18 Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority
- ___ 19 Panchayat system
- ___ 20 Chairman Prachanda
- ___ 21 **(SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE)** G.P. Koirala
- ___ 22 **(SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE)** Sher Deuba
- ___ 23 **(SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE)** Baburam Bhattarai
- ___ 24 **(SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE)** Madav Kumar Nepal
- ___ 25 Political parties
- ___ 26 Nepal Sadbhawana Party, or the NSP
- ___ 27 Nepali Congress-Democratic, or the NC-D

____ 28 Janamorchha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal

____ 29 Election Commission

____ 30 Workers and Peasants Party

____ 31 The police

(ref:THERM2)

Q.32 Now imagine that national elections are called this year. How likely would you be to vote in the elections, on a scale of 1 to 10, where 10 means you are certain to vote and 1 means you are certain not to vote? You can choose any number from 1 to 10.

☐ 1 1

☐ 2 2

☐ 3 3

☐ 4 4

☐ 5 5

☐ 6 6

☐ 7 7

☐ 8 8

☐ 9 9

☐ 10 10

☐ 11 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:VOTELIK)

Q.33 If national elections were held today, which party would you vote for?

(RANDOMIZE; READ LIST; USE SHOWCARD)

☐ 1 Nepali Congress **(NC)**

☐ 2 Nepal Communist Party - Unified Marxist Lenin **(NCP-UML)**

☐ 3 Rastriya Prajatantra Party **(RPP)**

☐ 4 Nepal Sadbhawana Party **(NSP)**

☐ 5 Nepali Congress-Democratic **(NC-D)**

☐ 6 Janamorchha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal

☐ 7 (Other)

☐ 8 (Don't know)

☐ 9 (Won't vote)

☐ 10 (Refused)

(ref:VOTE A)

Q.34 **(ASK ONLY IF DON'T KNOW IN VOTE A)** Well, if the elections were held today and you had to decide, which party would you vote for?

(RANDOMIZE; READ LIST; USE SHOWCARD)

- ☐ 1 Nepali Congress **(NC)**
- ☐ 2 Nepal Communist Party - Unified Marxist Lenin **(NCP-UML)**
- ☐ 3 Rastriya Prajatantra Party **(RPP)**
- ☐ 4 Nepal Sadbhawana Party **(NSP)**
- ☐ 5 Nepali Congress-Democratic **(NC-D)**
- ☐ 6 Janamorcha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal
- ☐ 7 (Other)
- ☐ 8 (Don't know)
- ☐ 9 (Won't vote)
- ☐ 10 (Refused)

(ref:VOTEAFOL)

Q.35 Now, imagine that the national elections were held today, and the same parties ran candidates along with the Maoists, which party would you vote for?

(RANDOMIZE; READ LIST; USE SHOWCARD)

- ☐ 1 Nepali Congress **(NC)**
- ☐ 2 Nepal Communist Party - Unified Marxist Lenin **(NCP-UML)**
- ☐ 3 Rastriya Prajatantra Party **(RPP)**
- ☐ 4 Nepal Sadbhawana Party **(NSP)**
- ☐ 5 Nepali Congress-Democratic **(NC-D)**
- ☐ 6 Janamorcha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal
- ☐ 7 Maoists
- ☐ 8 (Other)
- ☐ 9 (Don't know)
- ☐ 10 (Won't vote)
- ☐ 11 (Refused)

(ref:VOTEB)

Q.36 **(ASK ONLY IF DON'T KNOW IN VOTE)** Well, imagine that national elections were held today and you had to decide, which party would you vote for?

(RANDOMIZE; READ LIST AND USE SHOWCARD)

- ☐ 1 Nepali Congress **(NC)**
- ☐ 2 Nepal Communist Party - Unified Marxist Lenin **(NCP-UML)**
- ☐ 3 Rastriya Prajatantra Party **(RPP)**
- ☐ 4 Nepal Sadbhawana Party **(NSP)**
- ☐ 5 Nepali Congress-Democratic **(NC-D)**
- ☐ 6 Janamorcha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal
- ☐ 7 Maoists
- ☐ 8 (Other)
- ☐ 9 (Don't know)
- ☐ 10 (Won't vote)
- ☐ 11 (Refused)

(ref:VOTEBFOL)

Q.37 Do you approve or disapprove of the job that Suryabhadur Thapa is doing as prime minister?

(FOLLOW-UP: Is that strongly or somewhat approve/disapprove?)

- ☐ 1 Strongly approve
- ☐ 2 Somewhat approve
- ☐ 3 Somewhat disapprove
- ☐ 4 Strongly disapprove
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:PMJOB)

Q.38 Do you approve or disapprove of how King Gyanendra is performing his duties?

(FOLLOW-UP: Is that strongly or somewhat approve/disapprove?)

- ☐ 1 Strongly approve
- ☐ 2 Somewhat approve
- ☐ 3 Somewhat disapprove
- ☐ 4 Strongly disapprove
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:KINGJOB)

Q.39 Which of the following do you think would be the best form of government for Nepal:

(RANDOMIZE AND READ LIST)

Absolute monarchy, Panchayat, Democracy with a constitutional monarch, or Democracy without a constitutional monarch?

- ☐ 1 Absolute monarchy
- ☐ 2 Panchayat
- ☐ 3 Democracy with a constitutional monarch
- ☐ 4 Democracy without a monarchy
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:GOVTFORM)

Q.40 **(ROTATE WITH PANCH)** Do you approve or disapprove of a constitutional monarch playing a role in the governance and policy-making of Nepal?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you approve/disapprove strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Approve, strongly
- ☐ 2 Approve, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Disapprove, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Disapprove, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:GOVTMON)

Q.41 **(ROTATE WITH GOVTMON)** Do you think that things in Nepal are generally better or generally worse now than under the Panchayat system?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you think this way strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Better, strongly
- ☐ 2 Better, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Worse, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Worse, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:PANCH)

Q.42 (ASK ONLY IF BETTER - PUNCH 1 OR 2 - IN PANCH) Why do you think things are better today than they were under the Panchayat system?

(PRE-CODED OPEN END; DON'T READ LIST; RECORD VERBATIM; CODE)

- ☐ 1 (More control over government)
- ☐ 2 (Citizens had more input into government)
- ☐ 3 (Less corruption)
- ☐ 4 (Better economy)
- ☐ 5 (More personal freedoms)
- ☐ 6 (Other) RECORD VERBATIM

(ref:PANCOPEN)

Q.43 (ASK ONLY IF WORSE - PUNCH 3 OR 4 - IN PANCH) Why do you think things are worse today than they were under the Panchayat system?

(PRE-CODED OPEN END; DON'T READ LIST; RECORD VERBATIM; CODE)

- ☐ 1 (More crime)
- ☐ 2 (More corruption)
- ☐ 3 (Weaker economy)
- ☐ 4 (Maoist violence)
- ☐ 5 (Bandhs, protests)
- ☐ 6 (Other) RECORD VERBATIM

(ref:PANCBAD)

Q.44 Thinking back to when the King removed the elected prime minister in October 2002 and appointed his own prime minister, do you approve or disapprove of the King's decision to remove the elected prime minister and assume executive power?

(FOLLOW UP: Is that strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Approve, strongly
- ☐ 2 Approve, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Disapprove, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Disapprove, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:KINGPOW)

Q.45 Now I would like to ask you something a little different. I would like you to rate how democratic Nepal is on a scale of 0 to 10. Ten means that Nepal is fully democratic; 0 means that Nepal is a not democratic at all. Five is the mid-point, and you can choose any number from 0 to 10.

(DON'T KNOW/REFUSED = 11)

____ Record Number from 0 to 10

(ref:DEMOC)

Q.46 Now I would like to ask you about how democracy has worked in Nepal since 1991. First, what has been the best thing about democracy in Nepal?

(IF MORE THAN ONE: Which is the ONE best thing?)

(PRE-CODED OPEN END; DON'T READ LIST; RECORD VERBATIM; CODE)

- ☐ 1 (Greater personal freedoms)
- ☐ 2 (More jobs)
- ☐ 3 (Regular elections)
- ☐ 4 (Greater rights for women)
- ☐ 5 (Greater rights for lower caste)
- ☐ 6 (Less corruption)
- ☐ 7 (Stronger political parties)
- ☐ 8 (Free press)
- ☐ 9 (Other - RECORD VERBATIM & CODE)
- ☐ 10 (None)
- ☐ 11 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:DEMOIMPT)

Q.47 What has been the thing that you have most disliked about democracy?

(IF MORE THAN ONE: Well which ONE is the most negative?)

(PRE-CODED OPEN END; DON'T READ LIST; RECORD VERBATIM; CODE)

- ☐ 1 (More corruption)
- ☐ 2 (More violence)
- ☐ 3 (Less stability)
- ☐ 4 (Increase of foreign influence)
- ☐ 5 (Internal political party infighting)
- ☐ 6 (Political parties fighting with each other)
- ☐ 7 (Worse economy)
- ☐ 8 (Maoist became more active)
- ☐ 9 (More crime)
- ☐ 10 (Bandhs)
- ☐ 11 (Other: RECORD VERBATIM & CODE)
- ☐ 12 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:DEMOPROB)

Q.48 Now I want to read some different aspects of democracy. For each one, please tell me how important you think it is to democracy in Nepal. Tell me whether it is a very important for democracy in Nepal, somewhat important, a little important, or not an important aspect at all for democracy in Nepal.

(READ BELOW) Is that very important for democracy in Nepal, somewhat important, a little important or not an important aspect at all for democracy in Nepal?

- 1 = Very important
- 2 = Somewhat important
- 3 = A little important
- 4 = Not important
- 5 = (Don't know/refused)

(RANDOMIZE LIST)

- ____ 48 Freedom of self-expression
- ____ 49 Freedom of press
- ____ 50 Regular, free and fair elections
- ____ 51 Equal rights for women
- ____ 52 An end to the caste system
- ____ 53 Freedom to protest and demonstrate
- ____ 54 Equal access to justice
- ____ 55 Citizen participation in government decision-making

(ref:DEMOITEM)

Q.56 I am now going to read you a list of things that citizens can do. Please tell me which ones you believe that citizens should do. You can choose as few or as many as you want.

(READ LIST; RANDOMIZE; USE SHOWCARD)

- ☐ 1 Pay taxes
- ☐ 2 Vote
- ☐ 3 Participate in policy-making
- ☐ 4 Run for office
- ☐ 5 Obey laws
- ☐ 6 (None)
- ☐ 7 (Other) RECORD VERBATIM

(ref:DEMCITIZ)

Q.57 Now I am going to read you a list of things that government can do. Please tell me which one you believe the government should do for its people. You can choose as few or as many as you want.

- ☐ 1 Provide domestic security
- ☐ 2 Provide economic opportunity
- ☐ 3 Provide for national defense
- ☐ 4 Provide health care
- ☐ 5 Provide pensions
- ☐ 6 Provide education
- ☐ 7 (None)
- ☐ 8 (Other) RECORD VERBATIM

(ref:DEMGOV)

Q.58 Do you think calling a bandh is an effective or ineffective way of promoting a political agenda?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you they are very effective/ineffective or somewhat effective/ineffective?)

- ☐ 1 Very effective
- ☐ 2 Somewhat effective
- ☐ 3 Somewhat ineffective
- ☐ 4 Very ineffective
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:BANDHS)

Q.59 Now I want to ask you something a little different. Generally speaking, which TWO of the following do you think are the most important attributes for a political leader?

(IF MORE THAN TWO: Well which two are the MOST important?)

(RANDMOIZE LIST)

- ☐ 1 Concern for the people
- ☐ 2 Intelligent
- ☐ 3 Previous political experience
- ☐ 4 Honest
- ☐ 5 Wealthy
- ☐ 6 Has good ideas for the country
- ☐ 7 Charismatic
- ☐ 8 Not associated with the current or previous governments
- ☐ 9 (Other: RECORD VERBATIM)
- ☐ 10 (All)
- ☐ 11 (None)
- ☐ 12 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:LEADERS)

Q.60 **(SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE)** Now I am going to read you two statements and I want you to tell me which statements comes closer to your point of view.

(FOLLOW UP: Is that much closer or somewhat closer)

(ROTATE STATEMENTS)

Men and women should have equal rights and opportunities in Nepal.

OR

Men should have more rights and opportunities than women in Nepal.

- ☐ 1 Equal, much closer
- ☐ 2 Equal, somewhat closer
- ☐ 3 Men more rights, somewhat closer
- ☐ 4 Men more rights, much closer
- ☐ 5 (Both)
- ☐ 6 (Neither)
- ☐ 7 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:GENPAIR1)

Q.61 **(SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE)** Now I am going to read you two statements and I want you to tell me which statements comes closer to your point of view.

(FOLLOW UP: Is that much closer or somewhat closer)

(ROTATE STATEMENTS)

Women should be as active in politics as men.

OR

Men should play more of a leading role than women in politics.

- ☐ 1 Women active, much closer
- ☐ 2 Women active, somewhat closer
- ☐ 3 Men leading role, somewhat closer
- ☐ 4 Men leading role, much closer
- ☐ 5 (Both)
- ☐ 6 (Neither)
- ☐ 7 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:GENPAIR2)

Q.62 **(ASK ONLY IF FEMALE)** Many women have told us that their husbands or the male in their household instruct them whom to vote for. How about you: do you think most women decide for themselves whom to vote for, or does the male in their household tell them whom to vote for or pressure them to vote a certain way?

- ☐ 1 Woman decides
- ☐ 2 Husband or male decides
- ☐ 3 (Don't vote/haven't voted)
- ☐ 4 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:FEMVOTE)

Q.63 **(ASK ONLY IF MALE)** Many women have told us that their husband or the male in the household tells them whom to vote for. What do you think: do women decide for themselves on whom to vote for, or does their husband or the male in their household decide for them whom to vote for?

- ☐ 1 Woman decides
- ☐ 2 Husband decides
- ☐ 3 (Don't vote/haven't voted)
- ☐ 4 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:MALEVOTE)

Q.64 When it comes time to vote, which of the following is the main factor that determines which way you will vote.

(READ LIST; RANDOMIZE)

- ☐ 1 The individual candidate
- ☐ 2 The political party
- ☐ 3 The party leader
- ☐ 4 The party's platform or message
- ☐ 5 Ties you might have to a party
- ☐ 6 (Other: RECORD VERBATIM; CODE)
- ☐ 7 (Several factors)
- ☐ 8 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:WHYVOTE)

Q.65 Do you approve or disapprove of the caste system in Nepal?

(FOLLOW UP: Is that strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Approve, strongly
- ☐ 2 Approve, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Disapprove, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Disapprove, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:CASTEQ)

Q.66 (ASK ONLY IF DISAPPROVE - PUNCH 3 OR 4 - IN CASTEQ) What can be done to change the caste system in Nepal?

(PRECODED OPEN END; DON'T READ LIST; RECORD VERBATIM; CODE)

- ☐ 1 (More government positions for lower castes)
- ☐ 2 (More scholarships for education of lower castes)
- ☐ 3 (More equal opportunity laws for all castes and non-caste persons)
- ☐ 4 (Enforcement of existing laws)
- ☐ 5 (Nothing, only time will change this)
- ☐ 6 (Other) RECORD VERBATIM

(ref:CASTEDO)

Q.67 Now I am going to read you two statements and I want you to tell me which statements comes closer to your point of view.

(FOLLOW UP: Is that much closer or somewhat closer)

(ROTATE STATEMENTS)

Generally speaking, Nepalese political parties govern in the interests of the people.

OR

Generally speaking, Nepalese political parties govern on behalf of themselves.

- ☐ 1 Interests of the people, much closer
- ☐ 2 Interests of the people, somewhat closer
- ☐ 3 Own interests, somewhat closer
- ☐ 4 Own interests, much closer
- ☐ 5 (Both)
- ☐ 6 (Neither)
- ☐ 7 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:PTYPAIR)

Q.68 (SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE) (ROTATE WITH MAOATT AND PFATT) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Nepali Congress very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(READ ITEM) Does this describe the Nepali Congress very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(RANDOMIZE; READ LIST)

____ 68 Cares about people like me

____ 69 Can fix Nepal's problems

____ 70 Corrupt

____ 71 Too much infighting

____ 72 Too close to the king

____ 73 Have taken things too far

(ref:NCATT)

Q.74 (SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE) (ROTATE WITH NCATT AND PFATT) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Maoists very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(READ ITEM) Does this describe the Maoists very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(RANDOMIZE; READ LIST)

____ 74 Cares about people like me

____ 75 Can fix Nepal's problems

____ 76 Corrupt

____ 77 Too close to the king

____ 78 Have taken things too far

(ref:MAOATT)

Q.79 (SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE) (ROTATE WITH NCATT AND MAOATT) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Janamorchha Nepal, or the People's Front Nepal, very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(READ ITEM) Does this describe the Janamorchha Nepal very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(RANDOMIZE; READ LIST)

____ 79 Cares about people like me

____ 80 Can fix Nepal's problems

____ 81 Corrupt

____ 82 Too much infighting

____ 83 Too close to the king

____ 84 Have taken things too far

(ref:PFATT)

Q.85 (SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE) (ROTATE WITH RPPATT AND NCDATT) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Communist Party of Nepal very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(READ ITEM) Does this describe the Communist Party of Nepal very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(RANDOMIZE; READ LIST)

____ 85 Cares about people like me

____ 86 Can fix Nepal's problems

____ 87 Corrupt

____ 88 Too much infighting

____ 89 Too close to the king

____ 90 Have taken things too far

(ref:CPNATT)

Q.91 (SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE) (ROTATE WITH CPNATT AND NCDATT) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Rashtriya Prajantantra Party very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(READ ITEM) Does this describe the Rashtriya Prajantantra Party very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(RANDOMIZE; READ LIST)

___ 91 Cares about people like me

___ 92 Can fix Nepal's problems

___ 93 Corrupt

___ 94 Too much infighting

___ 95 Too close to the king

___ 96 Have taken things too far

(ref:RPPATT)

Q.97 (SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE) (ROTATE WITH CPNATT AND RPPATT) Now I am going to read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Nepali Congress-Democratic very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(READ ITEM) Does this describe the Nepali Congress-Democratic very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

(RANDOMIZE; READ LIST)

___ 97 Cares about people like me

___ 98 Can fix Nepal's problems

___ 99 Corrupt

___ 100 Too much infighting

___ 101 Too close to the king

___ 102 Have taken things too far

(ref:NCDATT)

Q.103 As we discussed, national elections might be called this year. Do you favor or oppose holding national elections this year?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you favor or oppose holding national elections this year strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Favor, strongly
- ☐ 2 Favor, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Oppose, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Oppose, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:ELECT)

Q.104 In regard to the next elections, under whose authority would the most credible elections take place?

(READ LIST; RANDOMIZE)

- ☐ 1 The King
- ☐ 2 An all-party government
- ☐ 3 A restored parliament
- ☐ 4 The Maoists
- ☐ 5 Other **(RECORD VERBATIM; CODE)**

(ref:ELECCRED)

Q.105 Do you think elections can only be held if there is a cease-fire or decrease in the level of violence, or do you think elections can be held whether or not there is a cease fire or decrease in the level of violence?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you think this way strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Only if cease-fire, strongly
- ☐ 2 Only if cease-fire, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Whether or not, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Whether or not, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:ELECFIRE)

Q.106 Now I am going to read you a list of conditions under which the Maoists could be allowed to participate in national elections? After I read each one, please tell me where you would approve or disapprove or the Maoists participating in elections under those conditions.

(FOLLOW UP: Is that strongly or somewhat?)

(PROMPT) If the Maoists **(READ BELOW)** - would approve or disapprove or the Maoists participating in elections under those conditions.

(RANDOMIZE LIST)

- 1=Strongly approve
- 2=Somewhat approve
- 3=Somewhat disapprove
- 4=Strongly disapprove
- 5=(Don't know/refused)

____ 106 **(SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE)** They lay down their arms

____ 107 **(SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE)** They commit to a ceasefire

____ 108 They agree to allow safe elections and candidate campaigning

____ 109 **(SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE)** They should be allowed to participate under any circumstances

____ 110 **(SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE)** They should not be allowed to participate under any circumstance

(ref:ELECTMAO)

Q.111 Generally speaking, do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of the Maoists?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Favorable, strongly
- ☐ 2 Favorable, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Unfavorable, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Unfavorable, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:MAOFAV)

Q.112 **(ROTATE WITH MAOTACT) (SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE)** Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the Maoists' goals?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you approve/disapprove of the Maoists goals strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Approve, strongly
- ☐ 2 Approve, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Disapprove, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Disapprove, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:MAOGOAL)

Q.113 **(ROTATE WITH MAOTACT) (SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE)** I want to read you some goals that the Maoists say they believe in: Free and compulsory education for all, free health services, an end to the caste discrimination, women having equal rights as men, the redistribution of land, and formation of a republic without a King, among other goals.

Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the Maoists' goals?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you approve/disapprove of the Maoists goals strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Approve, strongly
- ☐ 2 Approve, somewhat
- ☐ 3 (Approve of some and disapprove of others)
- ☐ 4 Disapprove, somewhat
- ☐ 5 Disapprove, strongly
- ☐ 6 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:MAOGOAL2)

Q.114 **(ROTATE WITH MAOGOAL OR MAOGOAL2)** Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the violent tactics practiced by the Maoists to advance their agenda?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you approve/disapprove of the Maoist's tactics strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Approve, strongly
- ☐ 2 Approve, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Disapprove, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Disapprove, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:MAOTACT)

Q.115 The Maoists promise to establish a multi-party system if they come to power. How much do you trust the Maoist to establish a multi-party system if they come to power? Do you trust them completely, somewhat, just a little, or do you not trust them at all?

- ☐ 1 Complete trust
- ☐ 2 Some trust
- ☐ 3 Just a little trust
- ☐ 4 No trust at all
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:MAOPARTY)

Q.116 What is more responsible for the rise of the Maoists:

(ROTATE)

Long-standing problems like poverty and repression

OR

The political parties' inability to fix the country's problems

- ☐ 1 Long-standing problems
- ☐ 2 Political parties' inability
- ☐ 3 (Don't know/refused)
- ☐ 4 (Other)

(ref:LONGRESP)

Q.117 Do you approve or disapprove of the government's current handling of the conflict with the Maoists?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you approve/disapprove of the government's handling strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Approve, strongly
- ☐ 2 Approve, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Disapprove, strongly
- ☐ 4 Disapprove, somewhat
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:GOVTMAO)

Q.118 Do you think the government should negotiate with the Maoists or do you think the government should try to defeat the Maoists militarily?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you feel this way strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Negotiate, strongly
- ☐ 2 Negotiate, somewhat
- ☐ 3 Military, somewhat
- ☐ 4 Military, strongly
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:GOVTGIVE)

Q.119 Who do you trust more to protect you in your community: **(ROTATE)** the Maoists or the Royal Nepal Army?

- ☐ 1 Maoists
- ☐ 2 Royal Nepal Army
- ☐ 3 (Both)
- ☐ 4 (Neither)
- ☐ 5 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:FEAR)

Q.120 Now I am going to read you a list of things that can be done with regard to the conflict in Nepal. For each one please tell me if you approve or disapprove of that action.

(FOLLOW UP: Do you think that way strongly or somewhat?)

(PROMPT) (READ BELOW) Do you approve or disapprove of that action?

- 1 = Approve, strongly
- 2 = Approve, somewhat
- 3 = Disapprove, somewhat
- 4 = Disapprove, strongly
- 5 = (Don't know/refused)

(RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS)

____ 120 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Hold peace talks among the King, the political parties and the Maoists

____ 121 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Hold peace talks between the King and the Maoists

____ 122 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Hold new national elections this year

____ 123 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Hold new national elections, which would include the Maoists if they lay down their arms

____ 124 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Provide weapons to citizens in rural areas so they can defend themselves against the Maoists

____ 125 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Place security forces at the border between India and Nepal so that weapons cannot be smuggled into the country

____ 126 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Increase the size and provide better weapons to the Royal Nepal Army to help them defeat or weaken the Maoists

____ 127 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Give amnesty to all Maoists that turn in their weapons and renounce violence

____ 128 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Establish a unity government made of all the political parties

____ 129 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Establish a unity government made up of all the political parties and the Maoists

____ 130 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Hold a constituent assembly to create a new constitution

____ 131 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Return to the Panchayat system

____ 132 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Limit the powers of the monarchy

____ 133 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Hold peace talks between the political parties and the Maoists

- ____ 134 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Have citizens take responsibility for their own defense
- ____ 135 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Form a democratic republic without a monarch
- ____ 136 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Form a Maoist "People's Republic"
- ____ 137 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Create a National Peace Commission with the participation of the private sector, civil society, and others
- ____ 138 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Bring an international delegation to moderate peace talks between the Maoists and the government
- ____ 139 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Bring international peacekeepers to Nepal

(ref:MAOANSW)

Q.140 What international delegation do you think would be most effective at moderating the conflict in Nepal?

(READ LIST; RANDOMIZE)

- ☐ 1 United Nations
- ☐ 2 European Union
- ☐ 3 India
- ☐ 4 United States
- ☐ 5 Great Britain
- ☐ 6 Other (**RECORD VERBATIM; CODE**)

(ref:MAOINTL)

Q.141 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Do you think the United States is playing a positive or negative role in helping to resolve the Maoist conflict?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you think this way strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Strongly positive
- ☐ 2 Somewhat positive
- ☐ 3 Somewhat negative
- ☐ 4 Strongly negative
- ☐ 5 (Does not play a role)
- ☐ 6 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:MAOUS)

Q.142 **(SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE)** Do you think India is playing a positive or negative role in helping to resolve the Maoist conflict?

(FOLLOW UP: Do you think this way strongly or somewhat?)

- ☐ 1 Strongly positive
- ☐ 2 Somewhat positive
- ☐ 3 Somewhat negative
- ☐ 4 Strongly negative
- ☐ 5 (Does not play a role)
- ☐ 6 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:MAOINDIA)

Q.143 Now I would like to read you some things that different political parties might say. After I read each one, please tell me whether the statement would make you much more likely to support that political party, somewhat more likely, just a little more likely, or no more likely.

(PRMOPT) (READ BELOW) Does this make you much more likely to support that political party, somewhat more likely, just a little more likely, or no more likely?

(RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS)

- 1 = Much more likely
- 2 = Somewhat more likely
- 3 = Just a little more likely
- 4 = No more likely
- 5 = (Don't know/refused)

____ 143 **(SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE)** We will not resolve our present difficulties until political parties stop fighting with each other and unite to solve Nepal's problems.

____ 144 **(SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE)** We urge all parties to put aside their differences, stop attacking each other, and develop a common plan to end the conflict and solve the country's economic and security problems.

____ 145 **(SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE)** We reject the Maoists' tactics but we share their stated goal of making Nepal a more just and equitable country.

____ 146 **(SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE)** We believe Nepal cannot succeed without creating fair educational and employment opportunities for people of all castes and ethnic backgrounds.

____ 147 **(SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE)** We call on the government, other parties, and the Maoists to begin negotiations immediately to end the conflict and agree on a plan to create jobs and increase economic and physical security.

____ 148 **(SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE)** The source of most of Nepal's problems is unemployment, as people without jobs lose hope and turn to violence and crime. In order to encourage job creation, we will create tax incentives for Nepali and international businesses that hire at least 25 Nepalese.

____ 149 Political parties need to acknowledge their responsibility for Nepal's problems. Too often, they have sought power to enrich themselves. We recognize our mistakes and will force our leaders to keep their promises and remain free from corruption, or we will remove them from the party.

(ref:MESSAGE)

Q.150 Now I am going to read you some things that political parties could do if elected to office. For each proposal, please tell me if it would make you much more likely to vote for that political party, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, no more likely or less likely to vote for that political party.

(PROMPT) (READ BELOW) Does this make you much more likely to vote for that political party, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, no more likely or less likely to vote for that political party.

- 1 = Much more likely
- 2 = Somewhat more likely
- 3 = A little more likely
- 4 = No more likely
- 5 = Less likely
- 6 = (Don't know/refused)

(RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS)

____ 150 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Increase penalties and jail sentences for government officials found guilty of corruption

____ 151 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Provide incentives for government and businesses to hire more women, especially for higher level positions

____ 152 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Give more college scholarships to women so they will have more job opportunities

____ 153 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Give money to programs like "Build your own village" so villages will have clean drinking water, schools, electricity and telephone lines

____ 154 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Develop a new highway system to better connect East and West Nepal in order to increase commerce and create jobs

____ 155 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Provide low-income families with vouchers to pay for school clothing and books

____ 156 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Increase the number of community health centers so waiting times to see doctors are shorter and medicines are cheaper and easier to acquire

____ 157 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Develop regional job centers to train Nepalese workers and help them find jobs

____ 158 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Provide grants and low-interest loans to families so they can build or improve their own homes or start small businesses

____ 159 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Redistribute of 15 percent of Nepal's agricultural land to the people that work the land

____ 160 (**SPLIT B - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Increase provision of state care for the destitute, elderly and children by 25 percent

____ 161 (**SPLIT A - 1/2 SAMPLE**) Establish programs to give more opportunity for people from lower castes or non-caste people to own property, start businesses, be hired for jobs, receive training and, go to college

____ 162 Call for immediate peace talks with the Maoists

(ref:PROPS)

Q.163 Finally, I would like to ask you some questions for statistical purposes. Many people were unable to vote in the national election in 1999. How about you? Were you able to vote, or for some reason were you unable to vote?

- ☐ 1 Voted
- ☐ 2 Ineligible/Too young
- ☐ 3 Did not vote
- ☐ 4 (Can't remember/Don't know/Refused)

(ref:DIDVOTE2)

Q.164 (**IF VOTED IN DIDVOTE2**) Which party did you vote for in the 1999 national elections?

- ☐ 1 Nepali Congress Party (**NC**)
- ☐ 2 Communist Party (**CPN-UML**)
- ☐ 3 Rashtriya Prahatantra Party (**RPP**)
- ☐ 4 Nepal Sadbhawana Party (**NSP**)
- ☐ 5 Nepali Congress-Democratic (**NC-D**)
- ☐ 6 Rashtriya Jana Morcha (National People's Front)
- ☐ 7 (Other)
- ☐ 8 (Do not recall)
- ☐ 9 (Refused)

(ref:PRESVOTE)

Q.165 Generally, speaking, which political party do you identify the most with?

- ☐ 1 Nepali Congress Party (**NC**)
- ☐ 2 Communist Party (**CPN-UML**)
- ☐ 3 Rashtriya Prahatantra Party (**RPP**)
- ☐ 4 Nepal Sadbhawana Party (**NSP**)
- ☐ 5 Nepali Congress-Democratic (**NC-D**)
- ☐ 6 Rashtriya Jana Morcha (National People's Front)
- ☐ 7 Other
- ☐ 8 None
- ☐ 9 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:PTYID)

Q.166 Which caste or ethnic group do you belong to?

- ☐ 1 Chhetri
- ☐ 2 Brahmin
- ☐ 3 Magar
- ☐ 4 Tharu
- ☐ 5 Tamang
- ☐ 6 Newar
- ☐ 7 Other - RECORD VERBATIM
- ☐ 8 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:CASTE)

Q.167 Which of these descriptions applies to your employment situation?

- ☐ 1 Unskilled worker/laborer
- ☐ 2 Skilled worker
- ☐ 3 Petty trade
- ☐ 4 Shop owner
- ☐ 5 Business owner
- ☐ 6 Farmer
- ☐ 7 Self-employed professional
- ☐ 8 Clerical/salesman
- ☐ 9 Supervisor
- ☐ 10 Executive
- ☐ 11 Military
- ☐ 12 Government worker
- ☐ 13 Housewife
- ☐ 14 Student
- ☐ 15 Retired
- ☐ 16 Unemployed
- ☐ 17 (Don't know/refused)

(ref:EMPLOY)

Q.168 What is the total monthly income of your household?

- ☐ 1 Less than 500 Rs
- ☐ 2 501 - 1,000 Rs
- ☐ 3 1,001 - 3,000 Rs
- ☐ 4 3,001 - 5,000 Rs
- ☐ 5 5,001 - 10,000 Rs
- ☐ 6 10,001 - 15,000 Rs
- ☐ 7 15,001 - 20,000 Rs
- ☐ 8 20,001 - 30,000 Rs
- ☐ 9 30,001 - 50,000 Rs
- ☐ 10 Over 50,000 Rs

(ref:INCOME)

Q.169 First name only for verification purposes

(ref:NAME)

Q.170 (DO NOT ASK, BUT CODE)

(INTERVIEWER - CODE HOW OPEN YOU FEEL THE RESPONDENT WAS TO EXPRESSING THEIR TRUE POINT OF VIEW)

- ☐ 1 Very open and had no reservations
- ☐ 2 Somewhat open and generally had no reservations
- ☐ 3 Had some concerns and was reserved
- ☐ 4 Very concerned and likely did not express true opinions
- ☐ 5 Don't know/hard to tell

(ref:INTER)

Q.171 Locale

- ☐ 1 Urban
- ☐ 2 Rural

(ref:LOCALIDA)

Q.172

- ☐ 1 Mountain
- ☐ 2 Hill
- ☐ 3 Terai

(ref:AREA)

Q.173 Region (CODE, DO NOT ASK)

- ☐ 1 Eastern Mountain
- ☐ 2 Eastern Hill
- ☐ 3 Eastern Tarai
- ☐ 4 Central Mountain
- ☐ 5 Central Hill
- ☐ 6 Central Tarai
- ☐ 7 Western Hill
- ☐ 8 Western Tarai
- ☐ 9 Mid-western Mountain
- ☐ 10 Mid-western Hill
- ☐ 11 Mid-western Tarai
- ☐ 12 Far-western Mountain
- ☐ 13 Far-western Hill
- ☐ 14 Far-western Tarai

(ref:REGION)

Q.174 City Size

- ☐ 1 Less than 5,000
- ☐ 2 5,000 - 9,999
- ☐ 3 10,000 - 19,999
- ☐ 4 20,000 - 29,999
- ☐ 5 30,000 - 49,999
- ☐ 6 50,000 - 99,999
- ☐ 7 100,000 - 299,999
- ☐ 8 More than 300,000

(ref:CITYSIZ)

Q.175 Survey version

- ☐ 1 Split A
- ☐ 2 Split B

(ref:VERSION)

Q.176 Field date

_____ 176 dd/mm

(ref:DATE)

Nepal Focus Group Specifications

1. No affiliations with any political parties

Group	Date	Location	Locale	Gender	Age	Class	Likelihood of Voting	Voting Behavior
1	Feb. 18	Kathmandu	Urban	Female	18-25	C	Likely	Favorable toward NC
2	Feb. 18	Kathmandu	Urban	Male	40-60	A	Likely	Favorable toward current gov't
3	Feb. 19	Kathmandu	Rural	Female	35-50	B	Likely	Unfavorable toward current gov't
4	Feb. 19	Kathmandu	Rural	Male	20-30	E	Likely	Favorable toward CPN
5		Terai	Rural	Female	30-45	D	Not likely	
6		Terai	Urban	Male	35-50	C	Likely	Favorable toward NC
7		Terai	Rural	Female	25-35	D	Likely	Undecided
8		Terai	Rural	Male	18-25	E	Likely	Favorable to Maoists
9		West	Rural	Female	25-35	E	Likely	Voted CPN-UML, now favorable to Maoist
10		Mountain	Rural	Male	30-45	E	Not likely	

**Focus Group Guidelines
Nepal
September 2004**

I. Introduction (10 minutes)

- We will be talking today about different aspects about our lives and about Nepal
- We want to hear your opinions, no right or wrong answers
- We are making a tape to help us remember what was said, but the conversation is completely confidential. Please speak up so we can hear you on the tape **[stress this]**
- One speaker at a time – so it will make sense on the tape **[stress this]**
- Be comfortable – hope you will find the session interesting and enjoyable.
- Go around room. Tell name, something about yourself: family, children, occupation, what you do for fun. **[Moderator: Take your time here; engage with the participants to gain their trust.]**

II. Country Direction/Issues (20 minutes)

Now I would like to ask you some questions about how things are going in Nepal.

1. I want to ask you about how things are going in Nepal. Do you see things in Nepal as mostly going well or as mostly going not so well?
 - What things are going well? **[press them to provide examples of things going right before things going wrong]**
 - What things are not going well?
2. What about in terms of the economy? Do you see things in Nepal as mostly going well or as mostly going not so well?
 - What things are going in the right direction? **[press them to provide examples of things going right before things going wrong]**
 - What things are going in the wrong direction?

- **Probe:** How is the job situation? Prices?
3. What about in terms of corruption? How serious a problem is corruption in Nepal?
- When you think of corruption, what sort of acts are you thinking of? Who is engaging in corruption? [**Probe:** Do you think there is corruption in the government? Do political parties engage in corruption? Do others?]
- What do you think needs to be done about corruption? How can it be reduced?
- How much progress do you think can be made against corruption?
 - Who in Nepal do you think can really fight corruption?

III. Political Party Associations (40 minutes)

Now I am going to read some names of people and organizations. For each one, I want you to tell me the first thing that comes to mind – very quickly.

1. [Prominent Nepalese cultural personality] [**very brief – this is a warm-up exercise**]
2. [Another prominent Nepalese cultural personality] [**very brief**]
3. Prime Minister Sher Dubea
 - What comes to mind when you hear that name?
 - What are the good things about him?
 - What has been the current government's most important accomplishment?
 - What are the bad things about the prime minister?
 - What has been the current government's leading failure?

- What do you think is the most important thing that the prime minister and the government could do to improve things in Nepal?

4. King Gyanendra **(brief)**

- What comes to mind when you hear King Gyanendra?
- What are good things about the King?
 - What is the most positive thing that he has done for Nepal?
- What are doubts you have about the King?
- Has your opinion about the king changed since the beginning of this year?

5. Political parties **[If mention specific parties, note that we will get to that shortly and want to focus now on parties in general.]**

- Let's talk a bit now about political parties. What do political parties do?
- Generally speaking, are the parties in Nepal a mostly positive factor or mostly negative factor? Why?
- What are the good things about political parties?
- What are the bad things about political parties?
- Do you have any contact with political parties? What kind? **[Probe for specifics.]**
- Would you like to have more contact with political parties? **[If yes: How would you like parties to contact you?]**

[RANDOMIZE THE INDIVIDUAL PARTIES]

6. Rashtriya Prajantantra Party

- What comes to mind when you hear that?
 - What are the good things about the Rashtriya Prahantantra Party?
 - What have the party's principal accomplishments?
 - What are the bad things, the doubts about the Rashtriya Prahantantra Party?
 - What have been the party's biggest mistakes or failures?
 - What has the party been saying or doing recently? [**Probe for specifics**]
 - What does the RPP want to do? What is its agenda?
 - Who is the leader of the Rashtriya Prahantantra Party? What do you think of him? Why?
 - Do you have any contact with the RPP here in [area]? [**Probe for specifics.**]
 - Would you like to have more contact with the RPP? Why/why not?
7. Nepali Congress Party
- What comes to mind when you hear that?
 - What are the good things about the NC?
 - What have the party's principal accomplishments?
 - What are the bad things, the doubts about the NC?
 - What have been the party's biggest mistakes or failures?
 - What has the party been saying or doing recently? [**Probe for specifics**]

- What does the NC want to do? What is its agenda?
 - Who is the leader of the NC? What do you think of him? Why?
 - Do you have any contact with the NC here in [area]? [**Probe for specifics.**]
 - Would you like to have more contact with the NC? Why/why not?
 -
8. Communist Party of Nepal - Unified Marxist-Leninist
- What comes to mind when you hear that?
 - What are the good things about the UML?
 - What have the party's principal accomplishments?
 - What are the bad things, the doubts about the UML?
 - What have been the party's biggest mistakes or failures?
 - What has the party been saying or doing recently? [**Probe for specifics**]
 - What does the UML want to do? What is its agenda?
 - Who is the leader of the UML? What do you think of him? Why?
 - Do you have any contact with the UML here in [area]? [**Probe for specifics.**]
 - Would you like to have more contact with the UML? Why/why not?
9. Nepali Congress - Democratic
- What comes to mind when you hear that?
 - What are the good things about the NC-D?
 - What have the party's principal accomplishments?

- What are the bad things, the doubts about the NC-D?
 - What have been the party's biggest mistakes or failures?
- What has the party been saying or doing recently? [**Probe for specifics**]
- What does the NC-D want to do? What is its agenda?
- Who is the leader of the NC-D? What do you think of him? Why?
- Do you have any contact with the NC-D here in [area]? [**Probe for specifics.**]
- Would you like to have more contact with the NC-D? Why/why not?

10. Nepali Sadbhawana Party

- What comes to mind when you hear that?
- What are the good things about the NSP?
 - What have the party's principal accomplishments?
- What are the bad things, the doubts about the NSP?
 - What have been the party's biggest mistakes or failures?
- What has the party been saying or doing recently? [**Probe for specifics**]
- What does the NSP want to do? What is its agenda?
- Who is the leader of the NSP? What do you think of him? Why?
- Do you have any contact with the NSP here in [area]? [**Probe for specifics.**]

- Would you like to have more contact with the NSP? Why/why not?

11. Maoists (**brief**)

- What comes to mind when you hear about the Maoists?
- What have the Maoists been saying or doing recently?
- What are the Maoists' goals?
 - Do you agree or disagree with those goals? Why/why not?
 - As you may know, one of the Maoist goals is to hold a constituent assembly to create a new constitution? Do you agree or disagree with this? Why/why not?
 - What is a constituent assembly?

IV. New Party Game (25 minutes)

Now we are going to divide into two groups. Let's imagine that you have just been elected heads of a new political party. Each group needs to come up with what their new party stands for. Take 10-15 minutes to answer the following questions and then each team will present to the other team.

- What does your party stand for?
- What will the party do if elected?
- Who will represent the party?
- What is your party's motto?

Moderator – Ask one of the teams to present their answers and then ask the other team the following questions?

- So what do you think about their new political party?

- What was the best thing about them?
- What were they missing?

V. Party Messages (15 Minutes)

Now I would like to read you some things that the political parties might say in the coming months. Please listen carefully to each one; then we will discuss it.

[Moderator – We will only test 4 per group]

After each message ask:

- What do you think of that statement?
- Do you like it? Why/why not?
- Would this message make you vote for that party?

1. UML Message

The CPN UML, appeals to all people, organizations and institutions and conscious citizens for their active support for immediate government-Maoist peace talks, a lasting peace, an elected government, good governance and security in the country. The CPN (UML) wants all countrymen to unity among patriotic and democratic forces and national consensus on the national issues to achieve forward-looking reforms, stability, development and national dignity.

2. RPP Message

The RPP would like to call upon all the political parties, the Maoists and civil society to empower the people in order to address effectively the cause of social conflict in the country by calling for peace. We also call upon the government to develop special programs with a view to providing relief to the people living below the poverty line.

3. NC Message

The NC will work to resolve the Maoist problem by engaging in negotiations and dialogue to bring about peace. We will also work to increase employment by exploiting our water resources, increasing tourism and imparting vocational trainings and education in rural areas.

4. NC-D Message

5. NSP Message

6. New party message (ALWAYS LAST; USE IN EACH GROUP)

We need to work together to resolve the current conflict so that we can focus our attention on the economy and creating jobs. The conflict has scared away foreign investment and we have a plan to bring that investment back to Nepal so that Nepalese can have good paying and stable jobs.

VI. Party Proposals (10 minutes)

MODERATOR – only test party proposal based on the group recruit. Example, the soft UML supporter will only get the UML proposals.

After each proposal ask the following questions:

- What do you think of this proposal?
- Do you think the [NAME PARTY] can carry out this proposal? Why/why not?

1. CPN-UML

- a) To establish people's elected government and to attain good governance and to eradicate corruption.
- b) To create employment opportunities by effective economic development.
- c) To implement a program for upliftment and development of women, backward castes, communities, classes and regions.

- d) To provide basic services like education, health service and drinking water to people with priority.

2. RPP

- a) Provide both formal and informal education and training to the marginalized sectors in the rural areas.
- b) Provide for an effective community health service through health centers, clinics and regional hospitals throughout the rural areas.
- c) Provide economic empowerment to the rural community to enable them to generate incomes through technical and financial support schemes.

3. NC

- a) Provide both formal and informal education and training to the marginalized sectors in the rural areas.
- b) Provide for an effective community health service through health centers, clinics and regional hospitals throughout the rural areas.
- c) Provide economic empowerment to the rural community to enable them to generate incomes through technical and financial support schemes.

VII. Conclusion (5 minutes)

Now I want to wrap up this discussion and I'd like to hear from each one of you. Let's imagine that there is a new political party. What is the one thing you would want this new party to do?

[Go around the room and get a response from each participant.]

Political Party's Messages and Proposals to test in the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Nepali Congress (NC)

Message: Maoist's problem needs to be resolved as early as possible:

Proposals:

- a) Through peaceful means: Dialogue and negotiations
- b) Through Constitutional Means: Multiparty Democracy, Constitutional Monarchy and sovereignty of people
- c) By eliminating Socio-economic and political Inequalities in society

Message: Employment to all

Proposals:

- a) Exploitation of Water Resources and Development of Agro-based Industries and Tourism sectors
- b) By establishing of Labor-Intensive Industries
- c) By imparting vocational trainings and education to rural manpower.

Communist Party of Nepal- Unified Marxist Leninist (CPN-UML)

Message: We appeal to all people, organizations and institutions and conscious citizens for their active support for immediate government-Maoist peace talks, peace, elected government, good governance and security in the country. The CPN (UML) cordially appeals to all countrymen for unity among patriotic and democratic forces and national consensus on the national issues to achieve forward-looking reforms, stability, development and national dignity.

Proposals:

- a) To lead the country towards the path of democracy holding peace talks with the Maoists.
- b) To establish people's elected government and to attain good governance and to eradicate corruption.
- c) To create employment opportunities by effective economic development.
- d) To implement a program for upliftment and development of women, backward castes, communities, classes and regions.
- e) To establish a just society and rule of law and to abolish all forms of discriminations.
- f) To provide basic services like education, health service and drinking water to people with priority.

Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP)

Message : We would like to call upon all the political parties (NC, NC-D, UML, NSP-both factions, the Maoists and the civil society to empower the people (Esp. women of Terai) in order to address effectively the cause of social conflict in the country by calling for peace.

Proposals:

- a) Call for an immediate cease-fire to create conditions for meaningful peace talks.
- b) Bring in (as much as possible women) participants and interlocutors in peace negotiations, talks and peace secretariat.
- c) Settlement of citizenship issues (esp. in the Terai region) and the rehabilitation of the *Kamaiyas* and *Badis* in Western Terai.

Message: We call upon the government to develop special programs with a view to providing relief to the people living below the poverty line.

Proposals:

- a) Provide both formal and informal education and training to the marginalized sectors in the rural areas.
- b) Provide for an effective community health service through health centers, clinics and regional hospitals throughout the rural areas.
- c) Provide economic empowerment to the rural community to enable them to generate incomes through technical and financial support schemes.

Nepali Congress-Democratic (NC-D)

Message: The NC-D will preserve the values of multi-party democracy and the constitutional monarchy. The NC-D will fundamentally change the present state structure in order to empower women, marginalized ethnic and indigenous people, and other oppressed peoples, through fair and equitable economic development.

Proposals:

- a) Provide effective prevention and control of corruption to assist economic development.
- b) Increase budget allocation for education, health, clean drinking water and sanitation through privatization of important public enterprises as required.
- c) Create adequate employment opportunities, especially in rural areas, to help to ease the Maoist problem.

**SCREENER QUESTIONNAIRE – Focus Groups
Females, 25-40, D Class, Likely Voter, Undecided
Kathmandu – September 4, 2004-**

Standard Introduction – Insure confidentiality, give AC Nielsen Contact Information

[DON'T ASK -- BUT DO RECORD GENDER]

Female..... **continue**..... 1
Male **TERMINATE**..... 2

1. What is your age? _____
***Record the age given by respondent

Under 18..... **TERMINATE**..... 1
18-24 **TERMINATE**..... 2
25-29 **continue**..... 3
30-34 **continue**..... 4
35-40 **continue**..... 5
41-45 **continue**..... 6
46-55 **TERMINATE**..... 7
55 AND OVER **TERMINATE**..... 8
(Don't Know/refused)..... **TERMINATE**..... 9

2. ASK QUESTIONS TO DETERMINE CLASS. RECRUIT CLASS D.

3. What was the last year of school you completed? (INSERT CORRECT SCHOOL LEVELS)

None **continue**..... 1
Elementary **continue**..... 2
Secondary **continue**..... 3
Vocational **continue**..... 4
College **continue**..... 5

4. What is your occupation? _____

5. Which caste or ethnic group do you belong to?

Brahmin..... **TERMINATE**..... 1
Chhetri..... **continue**..... 2
Tharu **TERMINATE**..... 3
Dalit..... **TERMINATE**..... 4

Newar	TERMINATE	5
Yadav	TERMINATE	6
Other.....	TERMINATE	7
(Don't know/refused).....	TERMINATE	8

X. INSERT GENERIC NON-THREATENING QUESTIONS LIKE: DO YOU READ THE NEWSPAPER, LISTEN TO RADIO, FAVORITE SPORT, FAVORITE FOOD, ETC...

6. As you may know, there might be elections this year. Assuming that there will be elections this year, how likely would you be to vote in the referendum, on a scale of 1 to 10, where 10 means you are certain to vote and 1 means you are certain not to vote?

10.....	continue	1
7-9	continue	2
1-6	TERMINATE	3

7. Now I would like to ask you about the national elections. If national elections were held today, which party would you vote for? (USE SAME SHOW CARD AS FOR THE SURVEY – INCLUDE THE MAOISTS)

Nepali Congress	TERMINATE	1
CPN-UML.....	TERMINATE	2
Maoists.....	TERMINATE	3
RPP.....	TERMINATE	4
NSP	TERMINATE	5
Other.....	TERMINATE	6
(Undecided/don't know)	continue	7
(Refused).....	TERMINATE	8
(Will not vote).....	TERMINATE	9

8. Generally speaking, which political party do you identify yourself the most with?

Nepali Congress	TERMINATE	1
CPN-UML.....	TERMINATE	2
Maoists.....	TERMINATE	3
RPP.....	TERMINATE	4
NSP	TERMINATE	5
Other.....	TERMINATE	6
None	continue	7
(Don't know).....	continue	8
(Refused).....	TERMINATE	9

RECRUIT and LOCATION: We would like you to participate in a discussion group about Nepalese attitudes towards a variety of issues. This will take approximately 2 hours and

will be held at: (give local focus group facility info). We do ask that you arrive a half hour earlier for refreshments and registration. You will be compensated for your time at a rate of ____ for participating. We are asking a few select people like you to participate in our study because we value your opinion.

Date and Time: September 4, 2004 – ?::?? PM

PLEASE TELL RECRUITS TO ARRIVE ½ HOUR PRIOR TO START TIME FOR REGISTRATION AND REFRESHMENTS.

NAME _____

STREET _____ TOWN _____ ZIP _____

DAY PHONE _____ EVENING PHONE _____

DATE _____

RECRUITER _____



Date: August 16, 2004

To: NDI

From: Mark Feierstein
John Moreira

Re: Faith in Democracy Endures, In Spite of Disappointments
Report on the Baseline Survey and Focus Groups

The Nepalese are deeply dissatisfied with the state of their country and frustrated that they are no better off now than they were before the democratic opening in 1990. Nevertheless, they do not find other political alternatives appealing. On the contrary, there is strong public support for a deepening of the democratic process and a rejection of such options as a return to the Panchayat system or a Maoist republic. The severe problems that the country faces – including unemployment, the Maoist conflict, and official corruption – have hardly shaken the public's faith in the concept of democracy. The Churchillian adage that democracy is the worst form of government except for all the rest would seem to sum up well Nepalese attitudes toward the options that they confront.

The continued faith in democracy, despite the difficulties that the country faces, is matched by a surprising degree of support for the country's political leadership. Even though there is nearly universal agreement that the country is headed in the wrong direction, pluralities approve of the performance of the King and former prime minister. This is not to say that the King and government escape blame for the country's problems – on the contrary, Nepalese are deeply disappointed that their leaders have not done more to improve the economy and end the civil unrest – but there appears to be a sense that many of the country's problems are so deeply rooted that they defy easy solution.

The public seems to evaluate political parties through a comparable prism. Although the Nepalese believe the parties mostly act in their own self-interest and engage in widespread corruption, the most popular ones receive respectable ratings.

Public views of the Maoists are conflicted as well. Although there is widespread condemnation of their tactics, there is also much support for some of their goals, including holding a Constituent Assembly to write a new Constitution and ending the caste system. About 20 percent of the public can be characterized as supportive of the Maoists.

There is no such ambivalence, however, with regard to how to end the conflict with the Maoists. The public overwhelmingly rejects a military option and is desperate for

talks to be held among the parties, government and guerrillas. It pains the Nepalese that the country is being torn apart by the armed conflict, and they are willing to entertain nearly any policy option that would end the fighting and bring the Maoists into the political process.

The desire for inclusion is evident in attitudes toward gender and caste as well. Most Nepalese, particularly the young, believe that women should generally have the same rights as men (although there is more doubt about the proper level of political involvement for women). There is also strong disapproval of the caste system, although it appears that many people are not quite prepared to abandon it.

All of these issues provide an opportunity for political parties to advance a popular agenda and burnish their images. Although the standing of most parties is fairly low, most people do not have a strong sense of individual parties. Any party that credibly addresses the public's concerns about the economy and the conflict, as well as convey that they are serious about fighting corruption and eliminating it within their own ranks, will have an opportunity to markedly expand their following.

These are the principal findings of our baseline research, which included 10 focus groups in rural and urban areas in February and March and a nationwide survey of 3,214 people covering a little more than 90 percent of Nepalese territory. The sampling error on a simple random sample of this size is 1.7 percent.

Dissatisfaction Driven by Unemployment, Violence, and Corruption

Nepalese are profoundly dissatisfied with conditions in their country. An almost unanimous share of respondents (95 percent) think the country is going in the wrong direction, while a mere 4 percent believe it is headed in the right direction. These are the most negative figures that we have ever recorded, in work that has spanned more than 40 countries.

Three issues in particular are driving this discontent: unemployment, the conflict with the Maoists, and government corruption.

Nearly half the respondents (45 percent) cite unemployment as one of their top two concerns. The lack of jobs is of particular concern to younger men; a majority of men under 35 list unemployment as one of their top two concerns. The lack of jobs is of also of great concern to the Dalits, more than half (53 percent) of whom cites unemployment as among their top two worries.

Maoist violence (37 percent) is the second leading concern. Almost half of the lowest socio-economic level (45 percent) cite the Maoist violence as one of their top two concerns¹.

The third leading area of concern is corruption (33 percent). Corruption is a greater concern among older men (37 percent) but a lesser concern among older women (26 percent). Corruption ranks lower as a concern among people in lower socio-economic levels; for example, only 27 percent of Dalits cite it as one of their top two concerns.

The focus on corruption is reflected in the strong ratings of the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority. The authority is the most highly regarded entity that we test in the survey; its thermometer rating on a scale of 0 to 100 is 59 degrees. [Figure 1]

Thermometer Ratings: Government Organizations
Mean Score on a Scale from 0-100

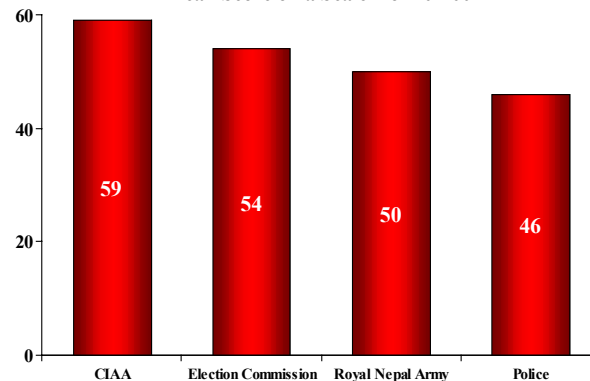


Figure 1

Political Leaders Get Benefit of the Doubt

Given the deep dissatisfaction with the state of things in the country, political leaders get fairly decent ratings. [Figure 2] This is in contrast to the wholesale rejection of the political class that we tend to see in other troubled countries. A plurality of the public (42 percent) approves of the job the former prime minister had done; and his thermometer rating is a cool, though not frigid, 40 degrees.

A plurality (46 percent) also approves of the performance of the King,

Thermometer Ratings: Political Leaders
Mean Score on a Scale from 0-100

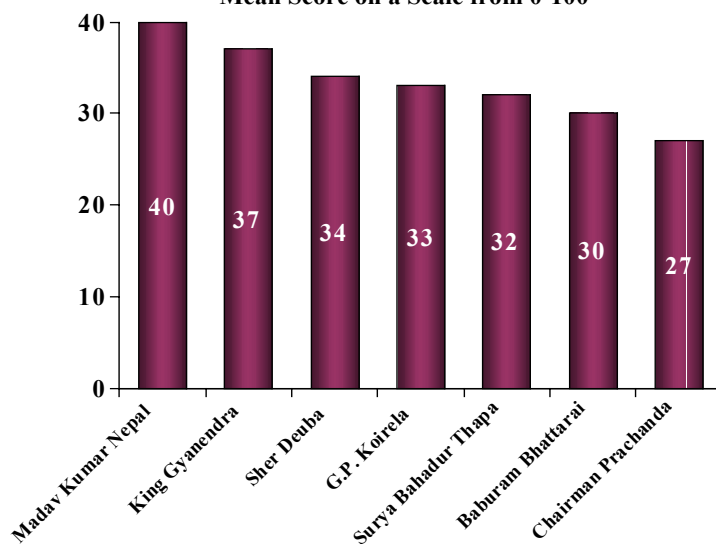


Figure 2

¹ Socio-economic level in Nepal is determined by occupation and educational. A-level is the highest level and comprises about 5 percent of the population; B-level 16 percent; C-level 25 percent; D-level 35 percent; and E-level, the lowest, is about 19 percent.

and his thermometer rating is a low, though not awful, 37 degrees. The King is most highly regarded among older citizens and residents of urban areas. Brahmins have the highest level of disapproval of the King; about half (49 percent) disapprove of the job the King is doing.

Although the King gets fairly high approval ratings, Nepalese nevertheless blame him for many of the problems in the country, believing that he could be doing more than he has. Many of the focus group participants say, for example, that the King could have already resolved the Maoist conflict and that he needs to facilitate a resolution to the conflict by bringing the Maoists and political parties to the negotiating table to work out a resolution with the government.

Political parties also receive respectable ratings. The thermometer rating for “political parties” is 44 degrees, although the range for individual parties is 25 to 45 degrees, with the UML and NC at the top and NSP and RPN at the bottom. [Figure 3]

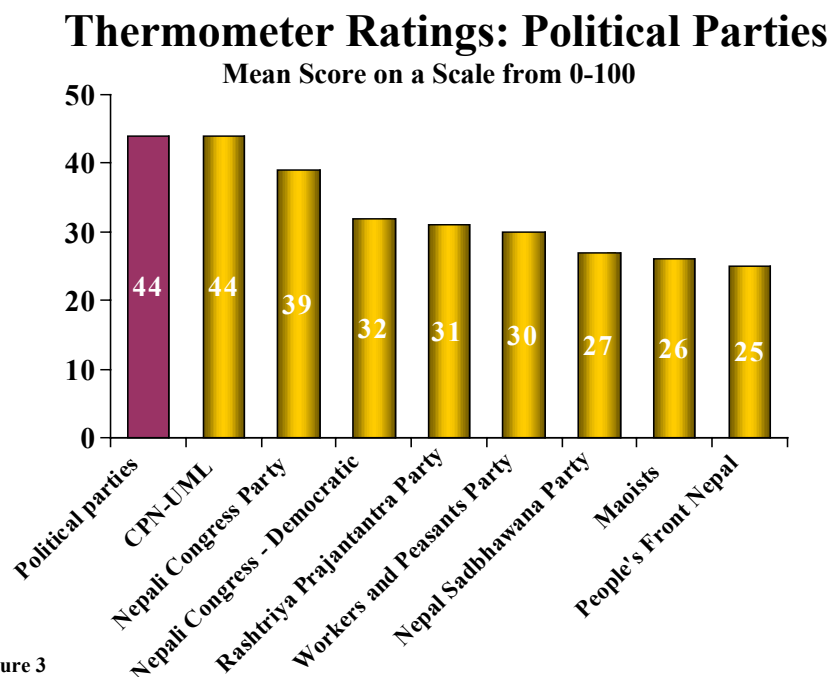


Figure 3

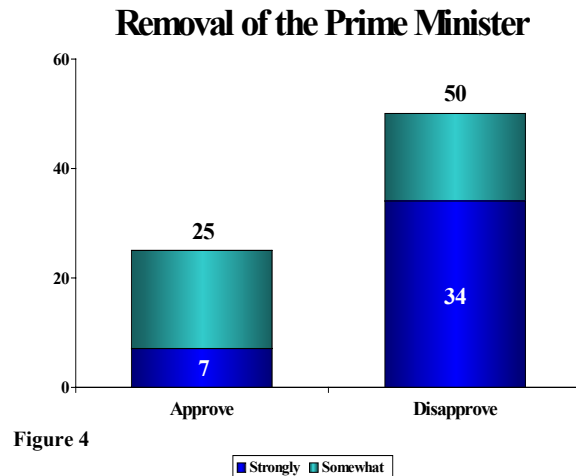
Nepalese have a long list of grievances with parties, however, namely a sense that they are driven by self-interest. We discuss this in greater detail below.

Faith in Democracy Persists

The deep dissatisfaction with conditions in the country and the lukewarm support for the government and political parties has produced disillusionment with how democracy is working in Nepal. The public believes that Nepal is far from democratic;

on a scale of 0 to 10, with 10 meaning the country is fully democratic and 0 meaning it is not democratic at all, respondents rate the country's democracy a 4.2.

This is due in part to the King's removal of the prime minister and assumption of executive powers in November 2002. Most Nepalese (50 percent) disapprove of the King's action, including 34 percent who strongly disapprove. [Figure 4] Young men (63 percent) and those in the highest socio-economic levels (64 percent) are most opposed to the King's removal of the prime minister.



The comments by these young women in Katmandu are illustrative of the public's views:

The King should not have stepped on the country's democracy like that. I found this step very wrong. When I heard the declaration, I was shocked and could not believe that even in a parliamentary democracy the King could dissolve the Parliament like this. This was not right.

He snatched away the rights of the people by doing so.

In a place where there should have been democracy, the Monarch interfered.

To many people, the King's actions threatened to undermine any chance of establishing democracy in Nepal. As a young male in Chitwan said: "Yes, there is democracy, but it has been paralyzed. It is now in a coma and anytime it may die."

For some, the King's action was symptomatic of a deeper problem with democracy in Nepal, a sense that the country was living in democracy in name only.

Democracy is just for the namesake; nobody is able to live freely. People are still not able to vote wherever they like. They are forced to vote for certain persons because of fear and intimidation. (Young male, Chitwan)

It had been claimed that democracy was re-stored, but we couldn't feel where it was re-stored. (Older female, Godavari)

Not only is there a widespread sense that democracy has not brought improvements to Nepal, but most of the public (66 percent) thinks the country is worse off than during the Panchayat system. [Figure 5] Corruption and crime are the principal

areas that are seen to have worsened since the end of the Panchayat system. [Figure 6] Many people remain nostalgic about the Panchayat era. This dialogue among young women in Katmandu is instructive:

During the Panchayat system, we could move around freely. We did not have to fear anybody. It was safe to be out on the roads even at midnight. But today there is so much insecurity that it is unsafe to go out even during the day.

Thinking about all this, sometimes I feel like we should go back to the Panchayat system; but then again coming to think of the fact that we are in living in the 21st century I feel that this would be something wrong.

What we require today is a democratic government. If we are able to make strict laws and rules and run the country in a more organized manner hence stopping violence and establishing peace and security then why do we need to go back to the Panchayat system? But again, if this is not going to happen then I think we need to go back to the Panchayat system.

During Democracy vs. During Panchayat

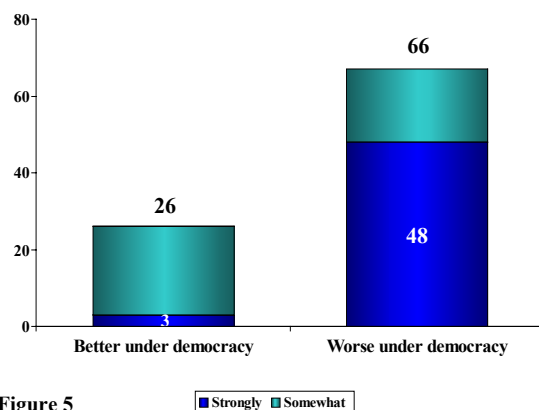


Figure 5

Problems with Democracy

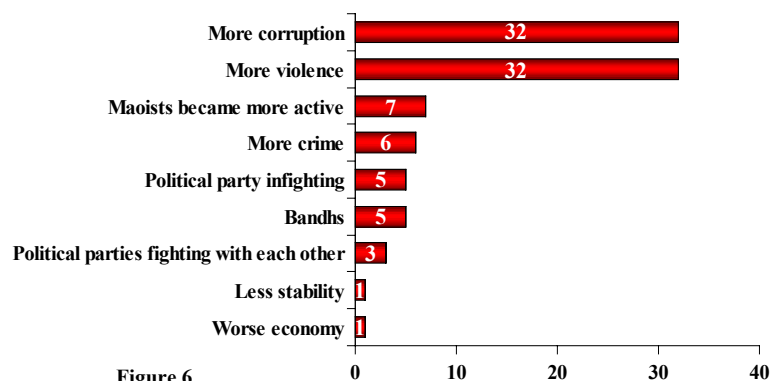


Figure 6

Few Nepalese in fact desire a return to the Panchayat system. On the contrary, there is strong support for maintaining the democratic system. A large majority (77 percent) believes that democracy with a constitutional monarchy (60 percent) or democracy without a monarchy (17 percent) would be the best form of government for Nepal. [Figure 7] Only 9 percent prefer the Panchayat system. Even among RPP members, only 21 percent opt for Panchayat.

What Nepalese most value about democracy are the greater personal freedoms that they enjoy. A majority (57 percent) of

Best Form of Government for Nepal

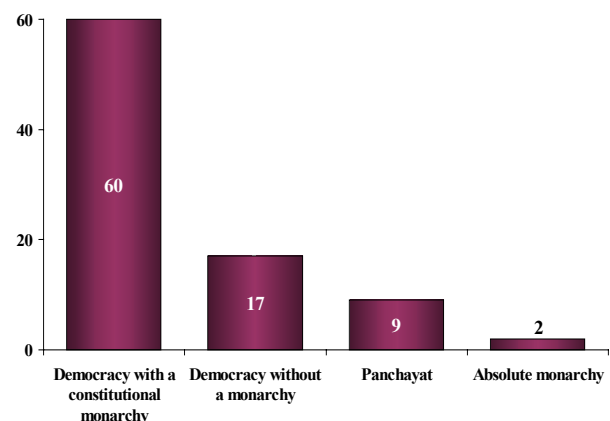


Figure 7

respondents cite greater personal freedoms as the best thing about democracy in Nepal. As figure 8 indicates, no other mention garners in this open-ended question garners more than 4 percent.

Best Aspects of Democracy

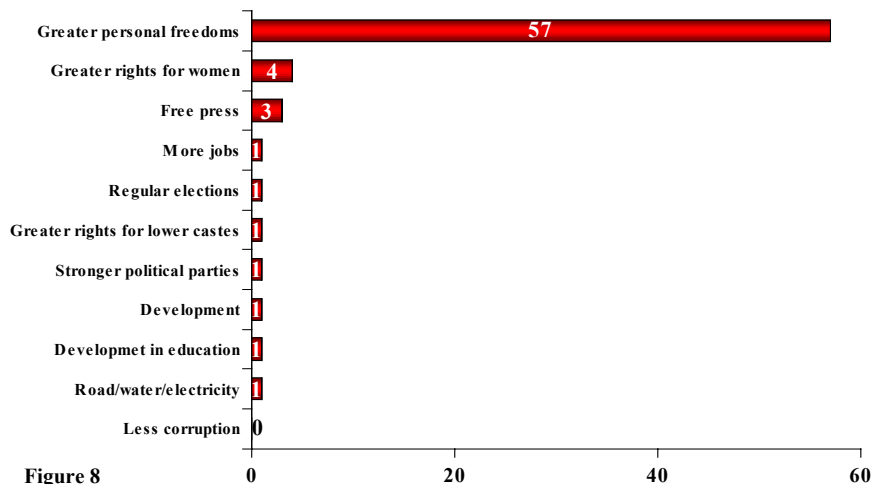


Figure 8

The most important action that can be taken to demonstrate democracy has not been derailed would be to hold new elections. More than 4 in 5 Nepalese (83 percent) favor holding national elections this year, although there is nearly universal agreement (94 percent) that elections should not be held until there is a cease-fire with the Maoists or at least a decrease in violence.

Opposition to Maoist Tactics, but Openness to their Goals

The sense that elections can only be held following a cease-fire or decrease in violence underscores the importance to Nepalese democracy of resolving the armed conflict. The war is taking a terrible human and economic toll, but it is also threatening to further slow or reverse the country's democratic advances.

Unlike the public's attitudes toward the government, there is little ambivalence about the Maoists. The Maoists' thermometer rating is just 25 degrees, the second lowest of the 21 organizations and people we tested in the survey. Only 8 percent give the rebels a "warm" rating, over 50 degrees.

The Maoists enjoy considerably more backing among richer Nepalese, as support for the rebels increases as income rises. [Figure 9] A similar dynamic is at work among castes, as members of lower-level castes are less likely to support the Maoists. This could be

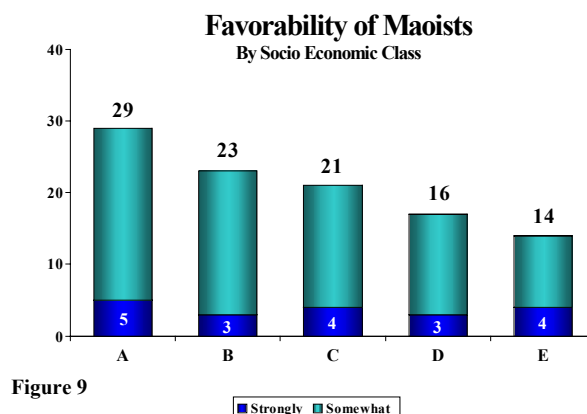


Figure 9

due to the fact that the Maoists' war is much more likely to take a toll on the lives of poorer Nepalese, while wealthier Nepalese might be more approving in a theoretical manner.

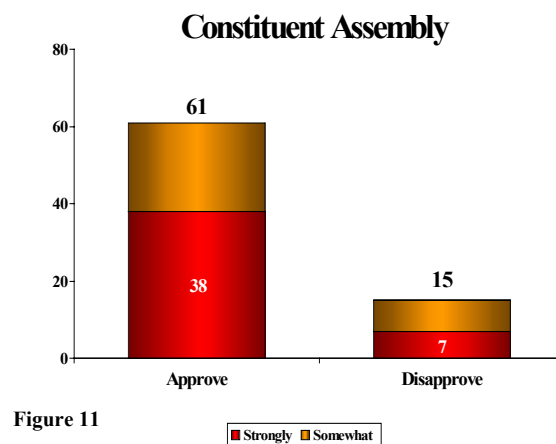
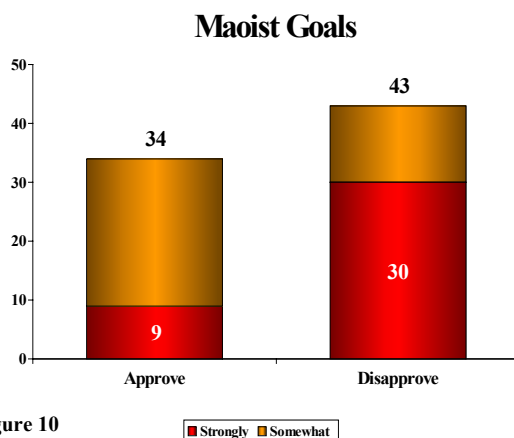
The Maoists' poor image is due largely to their violent tactics. Sixty-one percent disapprove of the rebels' use of violence, including 43 percent that disapprove strongly.

The public also rejects bandhs, a favorite tactic of the Maoists, with 82 percent saying they are an ineffective way to promote a political agenda. Many Nepalese complain that the bandhs exacerbate the country's economic troubles. As a young man in Godawari said, "Bandhs cause many difficulties to people, particularly to people like us, who have to feed ourselves on our daily earnings."

Nepalese also doubt the Maoist's commitment to democracy. Only 19 percent say they have at least some trust in the Maoists to establish a multi-party system if they come to power.

Despite the rejection of the Maoists' tactics, our research suggests that the Maoists would enjoy considerable support if they lay down their arms and enter the political process. One out of three Nepalese supports the Maoists' goals overall [Figure 10], and men are particularly supportive (42 percent).

There are varying degrees of support in the country for each of the Maoists' objectives, from 61 percent for a Constituent Assembly to write a new Constitution to just 28 percent for a Maoists People's Republic. [Figure 11]



Overall, the survey suggests that the Maoists have a base of support of about 20 percent based on the responses to a series of questions on the rebels. They may not reach that share of the vote if they participate in elections, however, primarily because many of the people who sympathize with the Maoists are UML voters. Among the respondents who indicated whom they would support in national elections, 16 percent select the Maoists, placing them third behind the UML and NC.

Strong Backing for Peace Talks

Nepalese are dissatisfied with the government's handling of the conflict with the Maoists, with about half (48 percent) disapproving of its efforts and only 27 percent approving. The public believes the government should place much greater emphasis on a negotiated solution rather than try to defeat the Maoists militarily. Given a choice between negotiating with the rebels or defeating them militarily, 96 percent prefer the former.

There is overwhelming support for bringing all the central stakeholders (the King, the political parties and the Maoists) into negotiations; 96 percent support that idea.

Ideas with a militaristic component are roundly rejected. Only 16 percent approve of the program piloted by the government to provide weapons to citizens in rural areas so they can defend themselves against the Maoists.

Most people are not necessarily looking for concessions from the Maoists or any form of accounting or punishment; they just want the fighting to stop. They feel caught in the middle between the Maoists and the Royal Nepal Army.

The condition is becoming worse day-by-day, violence and murder is increasing. This problem has to be solved as soon as possible. ... It is difficult for us because during the day we have to face the Royal Nepal Army and at night we have to face the jungle army (Maoists). (Young female, Chisa Pani)

We feel that the Nepali citizens have become sandwiched between the Maoists and the Army. Maoists come to our houses and force us to cook food for them. They ask for a donation. It is not risk-free if we do not cook food for them or do not give them a donation. We are forced to do whatever they say. But the Army men do not understand our constraint. They think that we are Maoist supporters as we are helping them by cooking food for them and giving them donation. Whereas we are helpless, and we remain nowhere. We are treated badly by both the parties. (Older women, Dhankuta)

A plurality of Nepalese (42 percent) trust neither the Royal Nepal Army nor Maoists to protect their community. One-third think the Royal Nepal Army (RNA), which receives a decent 50 degree rating, would better protect them, while just 4 percent say the Maoists would.

In order to put an end to this predicament, many citizens are prepared to welcome the Maoists into the political process. A plurality of the public (41 percent) would allow the Maoists to participate in national elections, under any circumstances, though nearly as many (37 percent) think the rebels should not be allowed to participate in elections under

any circumstances. A clear majority (59 and 57 percent) think the Maoists should be allowed to participate if they commit to a ceasefire or lay down their arms.

The public is wary about foreign involvement in the peace process. Only 47 percent of respondents approve of having an international delegation to assist in peace talks, and just 16 percent endorse a presence of international peacekeepers.

Parties Seen Driven by Self-Interest

Most Nepalese feel alienated from the political parties. Almost half of the public does not identify with any of the parties [Figure 12], although that is common in many developing countries.

The parties have a fundamental image problem – the sense that they have little concern for the public. Eighty-five percent of respondents think the parties govern on behalf of themselves, including 69 percent who think this strongly. Only 9 percent believe that parties govern on behalf of the people. As we heard in our focus groups, much of this resentment toward the political parties is driven by a belief that the parties engage in corruption. Between 44 and 57 percent describe the major individual parties as “corrupt.”

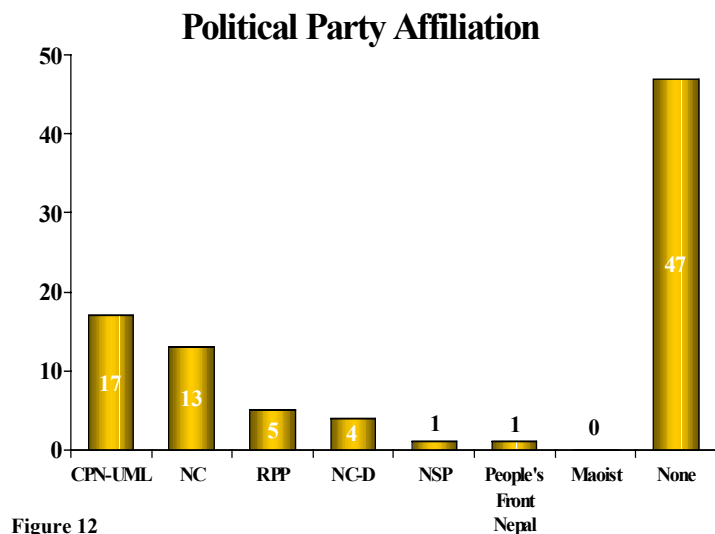


Figure 12

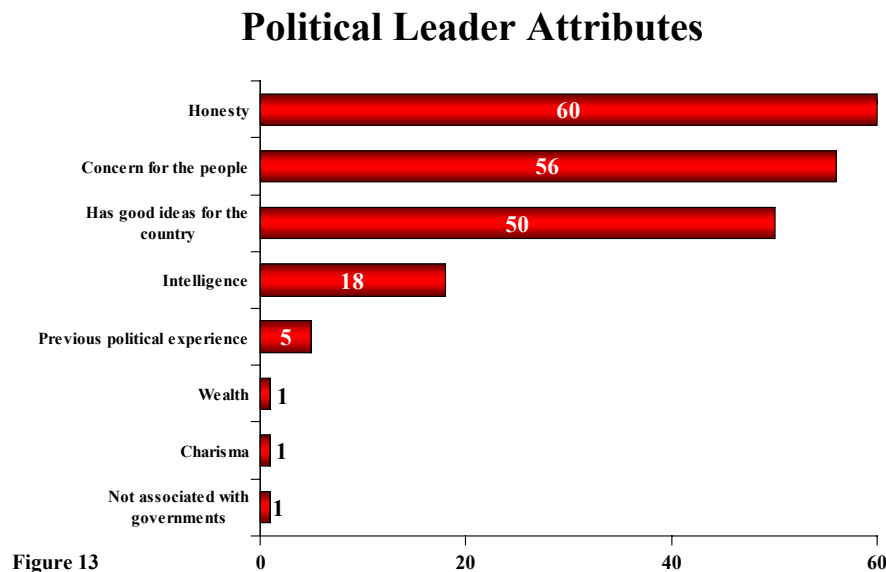
Political infighting has also turned off many voters. The internal battles signal to voters that party leaders are more concerned about their own standing and are ill-prepared to tackle the country’s problems. A plurality of Nepalese think “too much infighting” describes three of the top four political parties well.

In spite of their serious image problems, the parties are not without support. In fact, two in particular – the United Marxist-Leninist Party and Nepalese Congress – have decent ratings: 44 and 39 degrees, respectively.

The UML and NC are the two dominant parties. Among those who say which party they would vote for in national elections, 43 percent say they would cast ballots for the UML and 27 percent for NC. With the Maoists in the race, the vote totals would drop to 31 and 24 percent, a 12-point drop for the UML.

In order for political parties to improve their images, they need to convey three things in particular to voters: that they will govern honestly and fight corruption; that they

care about people and have good ideas to improve people's lives; and that they know how to get things done. The three most important attributes in a political leader for the Nepalese are "honesty," "concern for the people" and "has good ideas for the country." [Figure 13]



There is still an opportunity for the parties to burnish their images with the electorate. Many are undecided (13 percent) about how they would vote in the elections, and there are probably many undecided voters among the 36 percent who did not want to say how they would vote.

The parties' images, moreover, are not fully formed. Large shares of people (up to 65 percent) say they did not know enough to rate the parties on various attributes.

Most of the voters whose views have yet to harden about the parties are women, with a disproportionate share under 35 and not employed outside the home. Geographically, there are large shares of undecided voters in Eastern Tarai, Central Hill and Mountains. Outreach efforts by the parties, therefore, can focus on these sectors of the country, though given the nascent state of Nepalese democracy, it is probably premature for the parties to focus too exclusively on particular demographic groups. Each should aim to establish a broader, national standing.

Political Party Messages: Jobs, the Maoists Conflict, and Corruption

The first step for the parties to improve their images is to focus on the issues of greatest concern to the public -- job creation, the Maoist conflict, and corruption. The first two in fact can be dealt with in tandem. The public believes that ending the conflict with the Maoists is essential to revive the economy. A message that links these two issues and urges a negotiated settlement to the conflict was the most effective that we tested in the survey.

We urge all parties to put aside their difference, stop attacking each other, and develop a common plan to end the conflict and solve the country's economic and security problems.

We call on the government, other parties, and the Maoists to begin negotiations immediately to end the conflict and agree on a plan to create jobs and increase economic and physical security.

Likely voters say that they are 70 percent much more likely to support a political party that adopts the first statement as policy. This message also performs particularly well among young men and the E socio-economic level.

Sixty-four percent of likely voters are much more likely to support a political party that uses the second statement. This message is the strongest among urban respondents, and the Dalit, Newar, Yadov and Magar castes.

A simple appeal for national unity and political cooperation has near universal appeal (88 percent):

We will not resolve our present difficulties until political parties stop fighting with each other and unite to solve Nepal's problems.

The survey shows that parties need to place their proposals in a broader strategic context, along the lines of the messages above. Stand-alone proposals in the survey did not test as well as broader messages. Voters want a vision, beyond some popular initiatives.

The parties also need to deal directly with their principal vulnerability – corruption – and convince voters that they are serious about combating it, including within their own ranks. That means putting forward a comprehensive and credible agenda to detect and prosecute corrupt officials.

Progressive Attitudes Toward Gender and Caste Developing

As the parties reach out to voters, they will also need to take into account the increasingly progressive social attitudes among Nepalese, particularly among the younger generation. Although Nepal is considered a traditional society, public views on gender and caste are becoming quite liberal.

For example, an overwhelming share of Nepalese (84 percent) thinks that men and women should have equal rights and opportunities. [Figure 14] Among those over 59, 76 percent hold this view.

When it comes to women's role in politics, however, views are somewhat less enlightened. A bare majority (54 percent) thinks women should be as active as men in politics. Although only 10 percent think that men should play more of a leading role in politics than women, about a third of the respondents are unsure what they think of the relative political roles of men and women. [Figure 15] Again, there is a generational

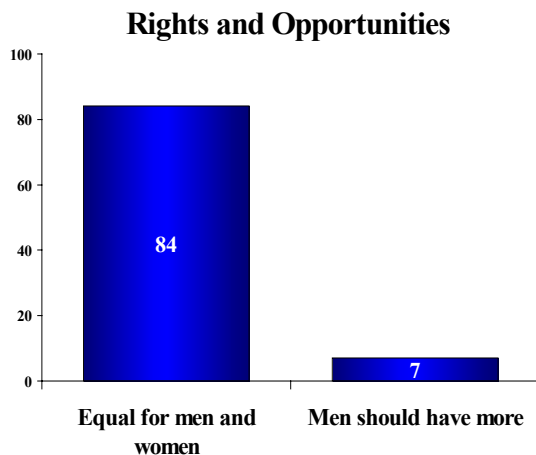


Figure 14

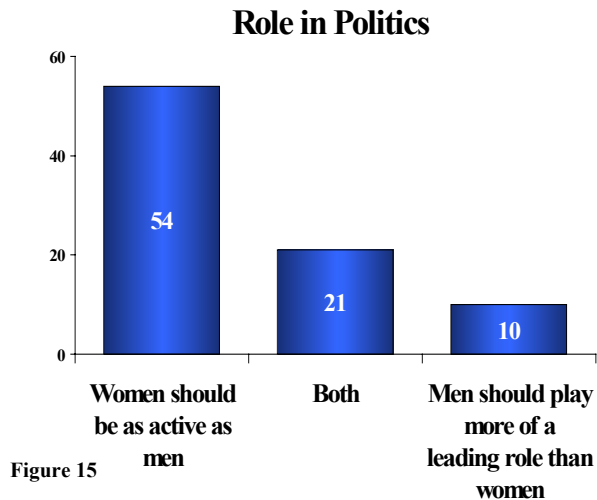


Figure 15

divide, with 38 percent of Nepalese over the age of 59 believing that men should play more of a leading role in politics.

It is worth noting that among undecided voters, between 65 and 71 percent thinks women should be as active in politics as men. Political parties could potentially make gains among these undecided voters by presenting women candidates in the next election. The mid-western and far-western regions are also much more progressive on this issue with 86 and 74 percent, respectively, believing that women should be as active as men in politics.

Despite these more progressive views, many women remain dependent on men for their political decisions. [Figure 16] A little more than half of our female (52 percent) respondents acknowledge that her husband or another male in the household decides how she should vote. In our focus groups, some women acknowledge that they vote in accordance with their husband's wishes out of fear.

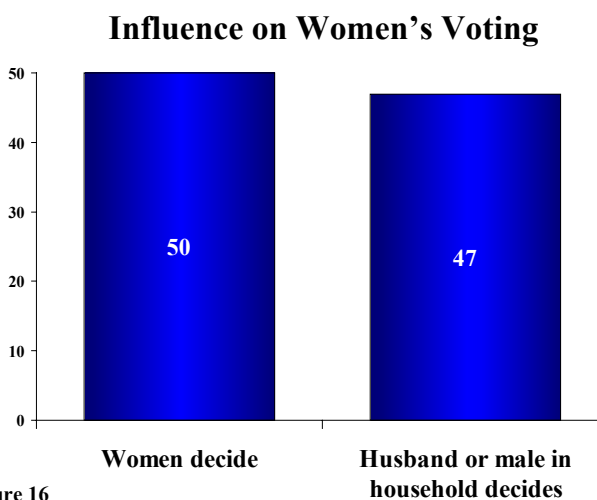


Figure 16

Since we cannot make our decision ourselves, we are being suppressed. If we start making our decision ourselves, right from the next day, we will

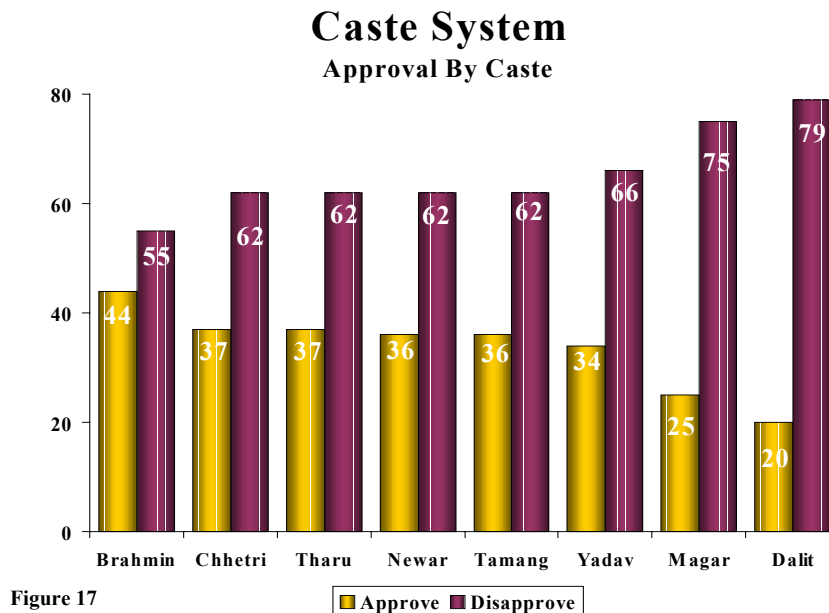
*not be allowed to enter in our husband's house. So, then where to go?
What to say? So, it is better to keep quiet. (Young female, Banke)*

Not surprisingly, women in urban areas and from higher socio-economic groups are more likely to say they decide whom to vote for on their own.

It would be politically advantageous for parties to aim to improve women's standing in society. The second strongest proposal that we test in the survey is giving more college scholarships to women so they will have greater job opportunities. About three-quarters (74 percent) say they would be much more or somewhat more likely to vote for a political party that promised to do that.

Nepalese also hold fairly progressive views about the caste system. Almost two out of three (63 percent) disapprove of the caste system. Men (67 percent) are slightly more opposed to the caste system than women (60 percent). Younger Nepalese are much more disapproving of the caste system than older citizens. Three quarters of respondents between 18 and 25 disapprove of the caste system, while only 40 percent of those over 59 disapprove.

Not surprisingly, lower castes are much more opposed to the caste system than upper castes. [Figure 17]



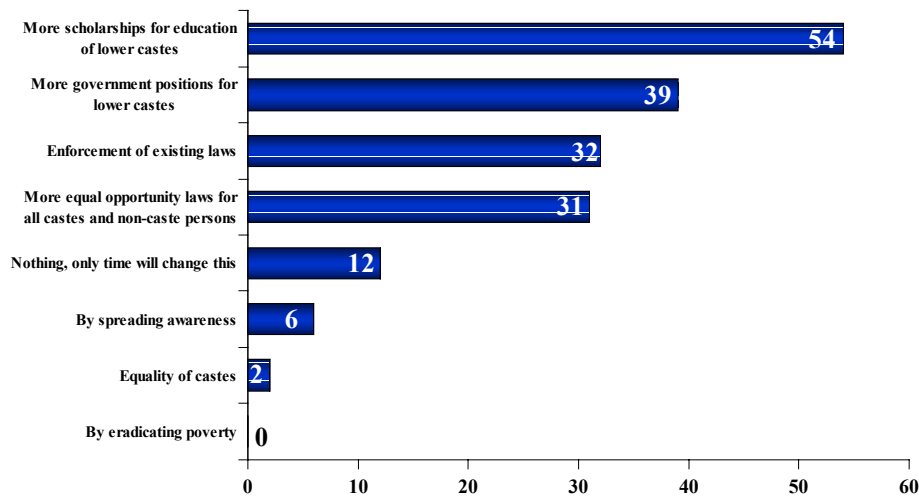
The high figures showing opposition to the caste system may in fact overstate the level of disapproval. In some of the focus groups, participants said that while they disapprove of the caste system, they still practice it in their everyday lives.

Although we say yes [castes should be treated equally], such equality might not be occurring. Although we do not hesitate to talk with them, let our children to play with them, it's a fact that we cannot take them to our kitchen. (Young female, Chisa Pani)

Although we say we are not discriminating, practically it is not being practiced. We still cannot marry Dalits - lower caste girls. If we get married with lower-caste girls, our family won't let them enter into our house. (Young male, Chitwan)

Nepalese see education as the key to changing the caste system. Among the respondents who disapprove of the caste system, 54 percent think the best way to change the system is to offer “more scholarships for education of lower castes.” [Figure 18] The second strongest policy proposal among Dalits is to “provide low-income families with vouchers to pay for school clothing and books.” Seventy-seven percent of Dalits say they would be much or somewhat more likely to support a political party that proposed that.

Changing the Caste System



The public finds appealing the idea that the country’s development depends upon creating opportunities for all castes and ethnic backgrounds. Eighty-five percent of respondents say they are much or somewhat more likely to vote for a political party that adopts this message:

We believe Nepal cannot succeed without creating air educational and employment opportunities for people of all castes and ethnic backgrounds.

The people of Nepal overwhelmingly want peace, democracy, economic growth, political party reform, and national unity to resolve the crisis in their country, according to research conducted by a Nepali polling firm, AC Nielsen/ORG-MARG, with support from Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research (GQR) and funding from the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Twenty focus groups and two nationwide surveys were conducted from May to November 2004. Each survey was conducted in 60 districts across Nepal, covering 93 percent of the population, and included responses from over 3,200 randomly selected individuals who provided their views on the general direction of Nepal, economic concerns, the current government, the Maoist conflict, political parties, elections, gender and caste and other issues. The following represent some of the key findings from this research:

- An overwhelming majority (77 percent) view democracy as the best form of government for Nepal, with a strong preference (60 percent) in favor of a constitutional monarchy with the King playing a constitutional role. Support for a republic without a constitutional monarch is low (17 percent). There is almost no support for rule by an absolute monarch.
- Citizens are optimistic that the Maoist conflict can be resolved; only 16 percent believe that the conflict will never end. An overwhelming number of Nepalese think the government should negotiate with the Maoists, as opposed to defeating them militarily.
- 93 percent of respondents feel the country is currently headed in the wrong direction. Economic decline led citizen's top concerns in November: 55 percent of respondents cited unemployment and a lack of job opportunities as one of their top concerns, followed by violence due to the Maoist conflict (33 percent), education (22 percent) and corruption (18 percent). Peace, economic development and keeping jobs at home are among the improvements citizens most desire to see implemented.
- In November, 82 percent of citizens expressed a strong desire to vote and over 80 percent want to see national and local elections held. However, 72 percent of respondents believe elections cannot take place under current circumstances, and an overwhelming majority (87 percent) feel that elections can only occur if an agreement is reached with the Maoists that would include their participation.
- Despite some negative perceptions of political parties, the great majority of Nepali citizens view them as indispensable to the democratic process. A vast majority (85 percent) of citizens feel that political parties act only on behalf of themselves, and 43 percent feel political parties play mostly a negative role in the current crisis. However, 78 percent of respondents also indicated that it was important for parties to be involved in peace negotiations with the Maoists. A majority (58 percent) feel that parties could benefit from new leadership, and 57 percent feel that with the right reforms, corruption in parties can be curbed.

- Corruption continues to be among the top concerns for Nepalis; increasing sentences and prosecuting high-level offenders were among citizen's favored approaches for fighting corruption. 80 percent of respondents perceive men as more corrupt than women. A majority of respondents also believe women should be as politically active as men.
- While 38 percent of citizens expressed support for Maoist goals in November, people reject the violent tactics practiced by the Maoists. Citizens see the Maoists' violence as increasing; Nepalis overwhelmingly desire to see the Maoists participate in the political process without violence. Of those who have fled their homes due to security concerns, 47 percent cite problems with both security forces and the Maoists, indicating that many feel trapped between the two forces.
- The survey shows an increase in approval for the performance of King Gyanendra, likely attributable to the reappointment of Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba and the formation of a multi-party cabinet. Furthermore, Prime Minister Deuba also had broad approval with 57 percent approving of his performance.
- A majority of Nepalese feel that religious harmony is still strong in the nation. Support runs high for measures that combat discrimination, such as a reservation system and increased educational opportunities and scholarships for women and lower castes.

AC Nielsen/ORG MARG, GQR and NDI shared these and other in-depth findings from the polls with political party leaders, civil society representatives and international organizations this week in an effort to increase their awareness of and responsiveness to citizen's concerns in Nepal today.



Date: January 21, 2005

To: NDI

From: Mark Feierstein
John Moreira

Re: Rising Concern about Maoist Strength; Unease over Elections Prior to Peace
Report on the Second Survey and Set of Focus Groups

Nepalese are increasingly concerned about the Maoist insurgency, as they see the rebels gaining in strength and becoming more violent. There is overwhelming support for peace talks between the King, Maoists and the political parties, but also a recognition that achieving peace will take some time.

The signals from the monarchy and the government that they may attempt to restart the peace process has helped boost the standing of the King, but the public is still looking for a more vigorous and more flexible official approach toward the Maoists.

Although the government is suggesting it might call elections without the Maoists if they refuse to re-enter peace talks, the public does not endorse that approach. Nepalese see elections as a product of peace, not a precursor to peace. Although Nepalese are eager to participate in elections, they do not think elections can take place in the current security situation.

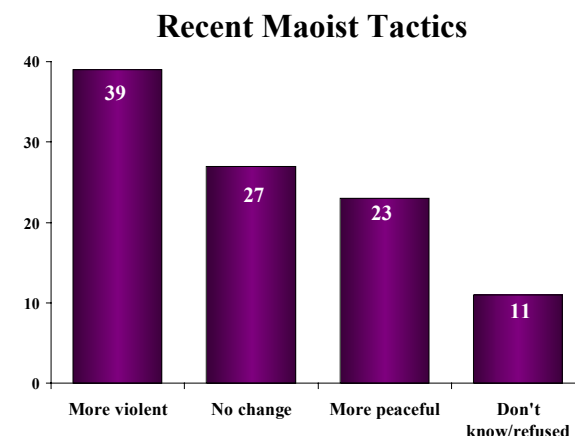
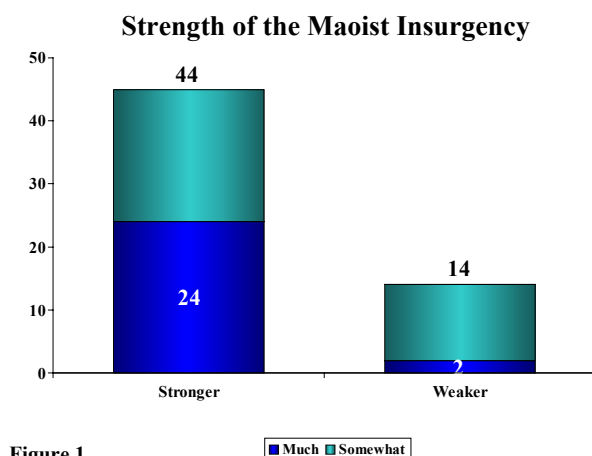
If elections are held, the UML and NC would have the initial edge. All parties, however, have much to do to improve their standing. Every party's agenda should include backing peace talks, fighting corruption, and developing economic programs focused on job creation. Concerns about the prevalence of discrimination, mostly based on caste, suggests that parties can also enhance their appeal with serious and credible efforts to promote equality of opportunity.

These are the principal findings of our second round of research, which included 10 focus groups in rural and urban areas in September 2004 and a nationwide survey of 3,222 people, including 296 opinion leaders,¹ covering a little more than 90 percent of Nepalese territory in October and November 2004. The sampling error on a simple random sample of this size is 1.7 percent.

¹ Opinion leaders were predominately VDC chiefs, though some teachers and community leaders were also surveyed. It is important to note that 42 percent of opinion leaders say they identify most closely with the UML, not surprising given the UML's presence in local government.

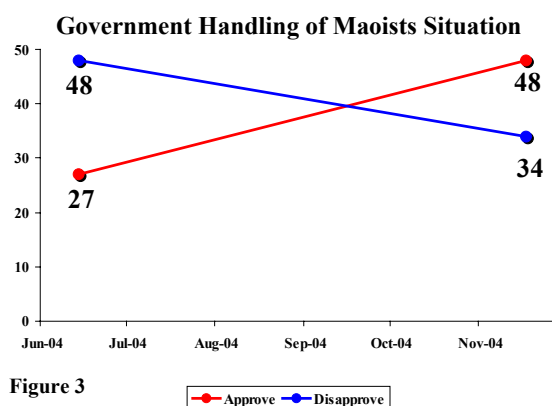
Increasing Concern over Maoist Strength

Nepalese are increasingly worried about the Maoist insurgency, as they see the rebel movement gaining in strength and becoming more violent. Nearly half the public (44 percent) thinks the insurgency has gotten stronger over the past few months, while only 14 percent see it weakening. [Figure 1.] And a strong plurality (39 to 23 percent) believe the Maoists are becoming more violent, rather than more peaceful. [Figure 2.]



As a result, concern about the insurgency is not abating. About one-third of Nepalese continues to cite Maoist violence as one of their top two concerns, keeping it as the public's second leading concern, after unemployment.

Even though Nepalese perceive the Maoist insurgency as strengthening, support for the government's handling of the Maoists has actually increased, soaring 21 points to 48 percent. [Figure 3.] Elites, however, are less supportive (41 percent) of the government's approach.



This apparent dissonance — increasing concern about the Maoists and rising support for the government's approach — is likely due to heightened signals from the government that it intends to engage in peace talks with the Maoists. As we noted in our baseline survey, 96 percent of the public support peace talks between the government and Maoists. In our recent survey, by a 3:1 margin over the next strongest solution, 71 percent of the public (and 68 percent of opinion leaders) think peace talks are one of the top two actions (from a list of seven) the government should take to resolve the Maoist situation. [Figure 4.]

Government Solutions for Maoist Situation

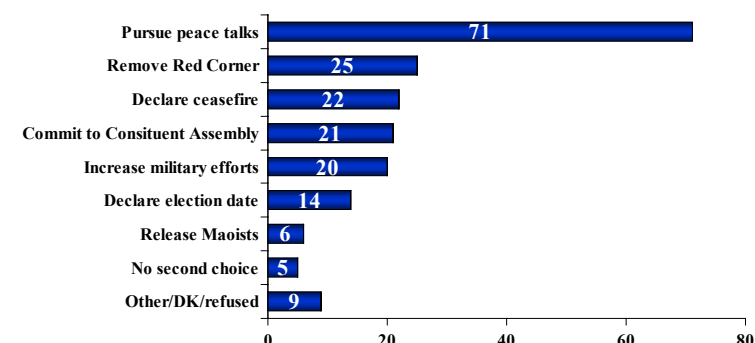


Figure 4

The sense that peace talks might be imminent has also helped to boost the King's standing with the public, though he has also probably benefited from his reappointment of the prime minister and his recent visits to rural areas. Approval of his performance jumps 14 points to 60 percent since June [Figure 5], and his thermometer rating, on a scale of 0 to 100, rises 4 degrees to 41 degrees, the highest for any individual in the survey.² [Figure 6.]

Approval of King Gyanendra

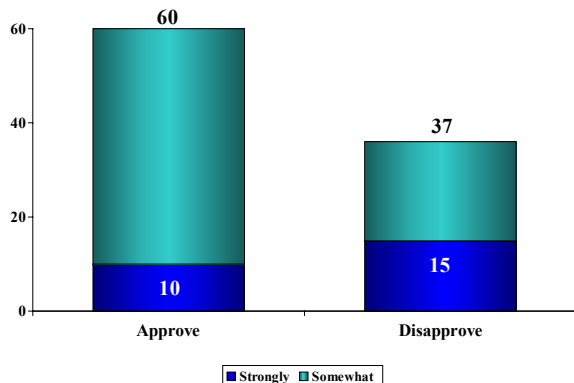


Figure 5

Thermometer Ratings: Individuals

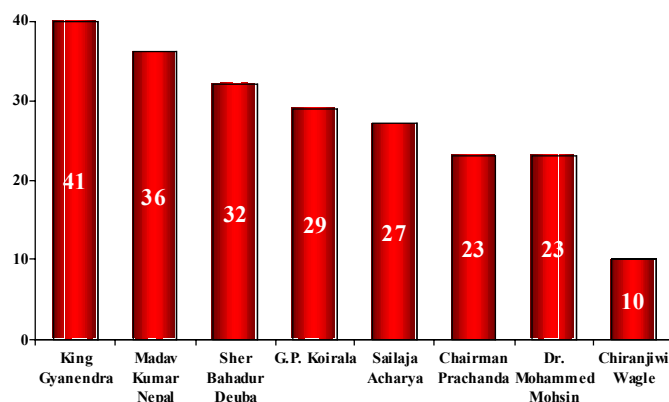


Figure 6

The movement toward peace talks may also account for the prime minister's strong approval rating of 57 percent.

The favorable ratings for the King and the prime minister do not imply complete support for their approach to the Maoist conflict. On the contrary, 36 percent of Nepalese think the King needs to change his approach the most in order to resolve the Maoist conflict, while 27 percent think the government should change the most. [Figure 7.] Only 14 percent think the Maoists need to change their approach the most, though this is

² We use a "thermometer rating" to assess the personal image of political figures and institutions. Respondents are asked to give a rating of 0 to 100, with 100 meaning they have very warm, favorable feelings about the person or institution in question and 0 meaning they have very cool, unfavorable feelings. Respondents can select any whole number between 0 and 100. The average rating of all the scores is the "thermometer rating."

Who Needs to Change for Peace

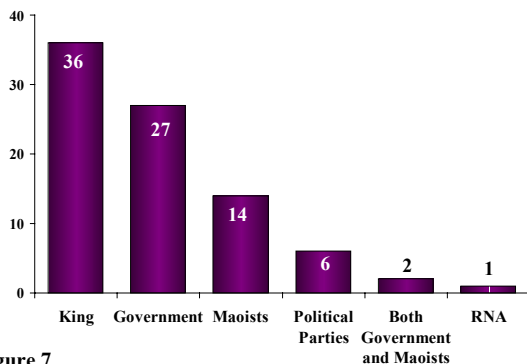


Figure 7

likely due to a sense that the rebels are the least likely to change and that it is incumbent upon the government to move the peace process forward.

That is not to say that the public thinks the government should accede to the Maoists demands on the shape of the negotiations. The Maoists have proposed only to have discussions with the King, but a strong majority of the public (76 percent) thinks it is very or somewhat important for the political

parties to be involved as well. For the opinion leaders, the parties' involvement is essential; 82 percent think it is *very* important for the parties to participate in peace talks.

Despite the support for the peace talks and some encouraging signs they might actually come about, the public is not particularly confident that a resolution to the conflict is imminent. First, there is limited confidence in the government's ability to resolve the conflict. Only 8 percent have "a lot" of confidence in the government's ability to resolve the situation, while 50 percent have either "a little" or "no confidence" in the government. [Figure 8.]

Confidence in the Government

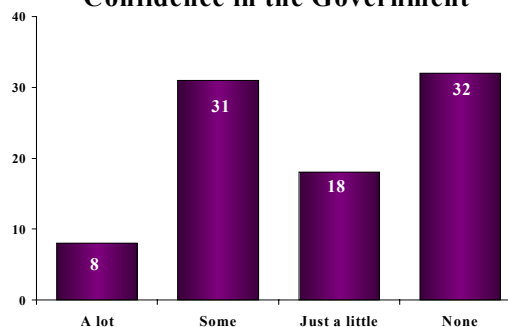


Figure 8

Second, there is limited faith in the High Level Peace Commission, with the public dividing nearly evenly (35 to 31 percent) over whether it will be effective or not. The opinion leaders have even less confidence in the commission, with a majority (52 percent) believing it will be ineffective.

Third, the public is realistic about how long it will take to resolve the Maoist conflict. Only 25 percent think it can be resolved within the next 2 years. [Figure 9.] Another twenty-five percent believe it will take at least 2 years, and another 16 percent believes the conflict will never be resolved.

Time Needed to Resolve the Conflict

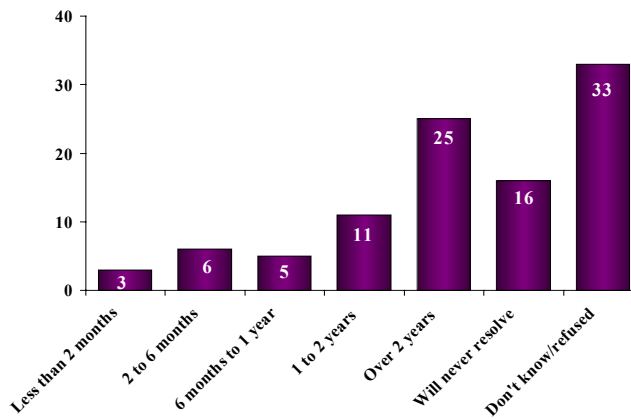


Figure 9

Peace First, then Elections

The government has attempted to pressure the Maoists into negotiations by suggesting it will hold elections without them, but the public does not see elections as a linchpin to settle the conflict. Only 14 percent of the public feels calling national elections is one of the top two actions the government should take in order to resolve the conflict. [Figure 4 (above).]

It is not that the public does not support holding elections. On the contrary, 88 percent think elections should be held at some time. The problem is that there are continued doubts that elections can be held given the security situation in the country. A large share of the public (72 percent) thinks that elections cannot be held under the current circumstances.

Elections held before a peace agreement would likely have a serious impact on turnout. Among those people who are not likely to vote, the primary reason is lack of security. [Figure 10]

The public believes that a peace agreement must precede the holding of elections. Only 17 percent approve of holding elections regardless of the Maoist threat; and just 19 percent support holding elections only in areas not controlled by the Maoists. [Figure 11.]

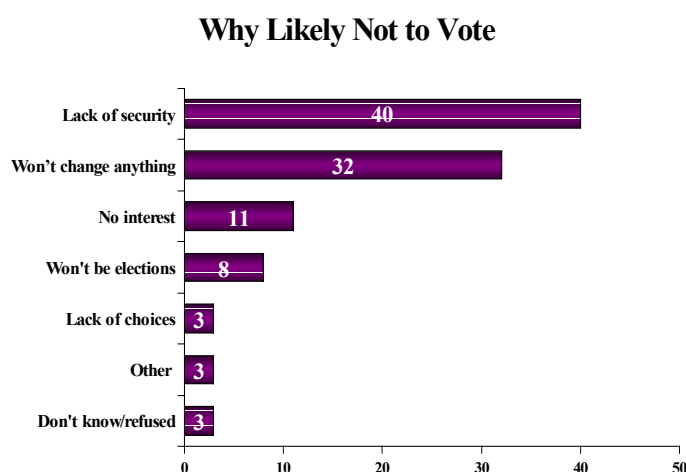


Figure 10

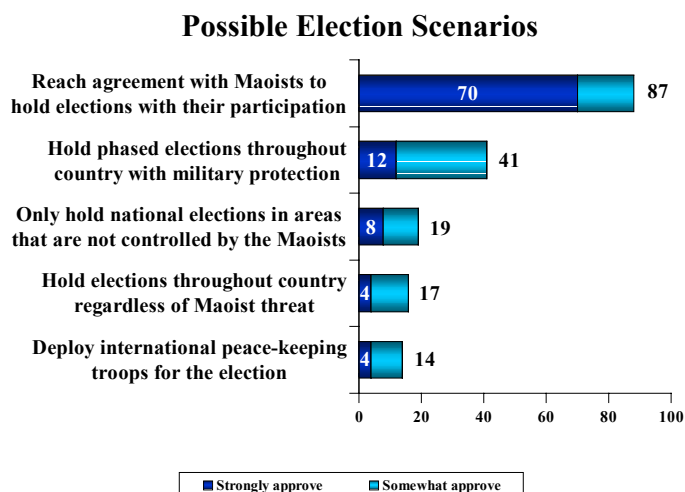


Figure 11

The only scenario in which the public feels elections can occur is to reach an agreement with the Maoists to hold elections with their participation. Under that scenario, support is very strong among the public to hold elections (87 percent) and nearly universal among opinion formers (98 percent). *For the Nepalese, elections are a product of peace, not a precursor to it.*

If a peace agreement is reached and elections do take place, participation in the process is likely to be high, the survey suggests. When respondents are asked how likely they are to vote on a 1 to 10 scale with “1” meaning they are certain *not* to vote and “10” meaning they are certain to vote, 69 percent say “10,” a rise of 17 points since June.

As is the case in most countries, older citizens are more likely to vote than young respondents, with 76 percent of respondents over the age of 59 saying they will definitely vote, compared to 63 percent among those 18 to 25.

In contrast with other countries, however, lower classes are more likely to vote than upper classes. Only 59 percent of A-class respondents definitely plan to vote, whereas 72 percent of D and E-class respondents say they will definitely vote.

Geographically, respondents in the Midwest are the most likely to vote, with 89 percent saying they will definitely vote. Conversely, the Western region is the least interested in election participation, with only 60 percent giving a 10 on our scale. Rural respondents are also more likely to say they definitely intend to vote (71 percent) than urban respondents (61 percent).

In a positive sign for the parties, their partisans are eager to vote. That is particularly true in the case of the Nepali Congress-Democratic Party (NC-D), as 88 percent of its supporters say they would definitely vote. Supporters of Rashtriya Prajantantra Party (RPP) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) (UML) and Nepali Congress (NC) are somewhat less interested in voting (80 percent and 76 percent, respectively.)

If Elections Held, UML and NC Have Initial Edge

If elections take place any time soon, the UML and NC would have an edge, as we noted in our last report, though of course campaign dynamics and events can and do alter voter preferences. If elections are held without the Maoists on the ballot, the UML would capture 26 percent of the vote, with the NC trailing closely behind with 20 percent of the vote, according to our survey. A large share (26 percent) are either undecided (15 percent) or refrained from saying which party they would support (11 percent). These results all track fairly closely with our June findings. [Figure 12.]

At first glance, including the Maoists on the ballot would not change the election dynamic much, as they receive only 5 percent of the vote. [Figure 13.] There are signs in the survey though that this figure may be under-representing the Maoists’ support. First, the share of undecided voters rises to 22 percent when the Maoists are offered as a ballot choice, indicating there may be voters who are fearful of acknowledging their support for the guerrillas. Second, about 2 in 5 Nepalese (38 percent) approve of the Maoists’ goals. This suggests that if the Maoists were to lay down their arms, no longer engage in violent tactics, and elect to participate in the democratic system, they would be able to compete effectively against other political parties.

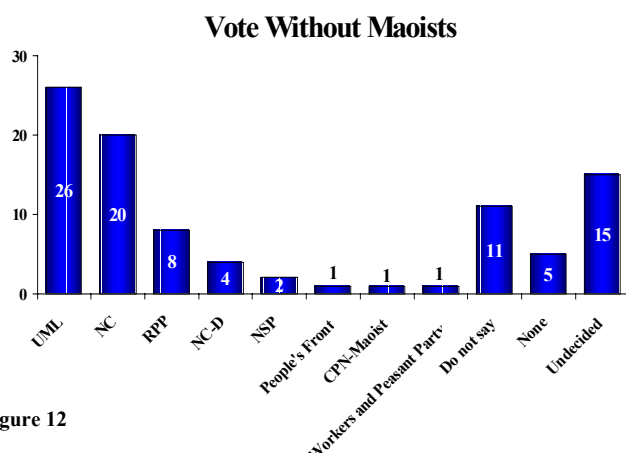


Figure 12

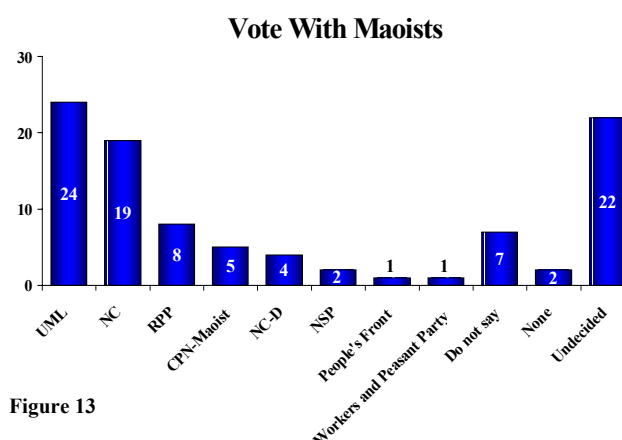


Figure 13

The large share of undecided voters makes any election outcome even more difficult to predict, particularly before elections have even been called. Women comprise the bulk of undecided voters (61 percent). Older women in particular have yet to settle on an electoral preference; about one-fifth (21 percent) of women over 35 are undecided.

The undecided are also more concentrated among certain castes and classes. Twenty-three percent of all Dalits and 18 percent of all Yadav's are undecided, as well as 17 percent of D and E-class voters.

The central region will likely become the battleground for the election. A majority (51 percent) of undecided voters live in the Central region: 31 percent in the Central Tarai and 20 percent in the Central Hills. [Figure 14.]

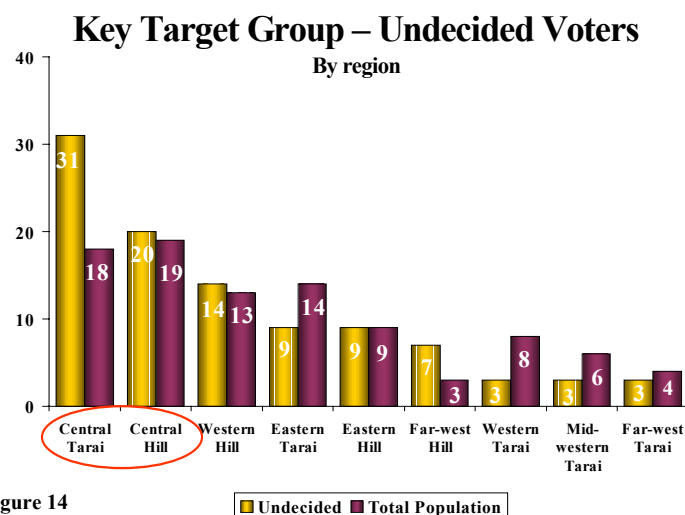


Figure 14

Undecided voters are not easy for the parties to reach. One-third do not have a radio or television, compared with 20 percent of the overall electorate. Of course, a likely reason that these voters are undecided in the first place is that they have less access to news and are less aware of the different parties and what they stand for.

Political Parties in Disfavor

Political parties have a lot of work to do before the next elections. Aside from the People's Front of Nepal, all the parties receive slightly lower thermometer ratings (1 to 3 degrees) now than in June. UML continues to be the most highly regarded party (41 degrees).

There is not much personal affection for the country's political leaders either. The prime minister, for example, has a thermometer rating of just 32 degrees, notwithstanding support for his performance, as noted above. The leader of the country's most popular party, Madav Kumar Nepal, has a rating of 36 degrees, largely unchanged from June.

Overall, the public feels that the parties in Nepal do more harm than good. A plurality (43 to 34 percent) believes the parties play a mostly negative role, although a plurality of opinion leaders (48 to 38 percent) think the parties have a mostly positive impact. To a large extent, the public blames the parties for the poor economic and political conditions and the rise of the Maoists. As a female from Pokhara says: "In a multi-party system, the parties working actively are good. But in the past the parties did not do well. They gave birth to the Maoists. The party [NC], in which the public had faith, has become corrupt. Because of this, people became frustrated and they joined the Maoists in order to get rid of their unemployment problem."

Nepalese are dissatisfied with current party leadership and looking for new blood. A strong majority (58 percent) feels that political parties would benefit from having new leadership, as opposed to continuing to be the same with new leaders. [Figure 15.] An even larger share of opinion leaders (74 percent) thinks political parties would benefit from new leadership.

Political Parties with New Leadership

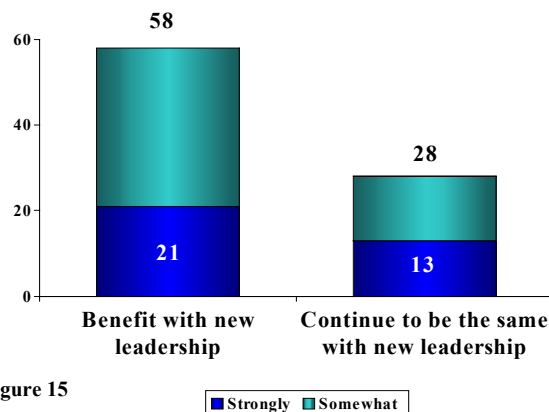


Figure 15

Possible Constitutional Reforms

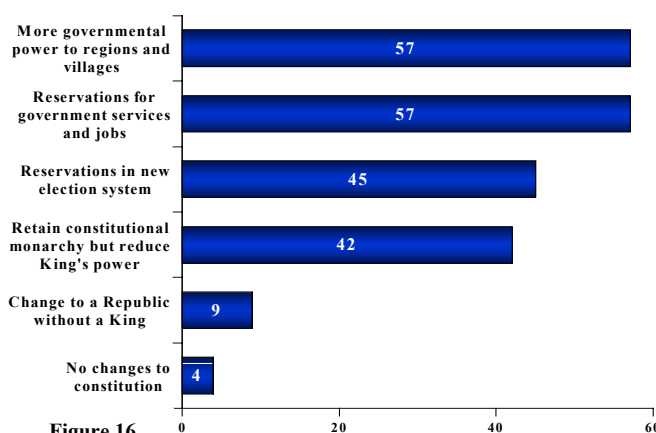
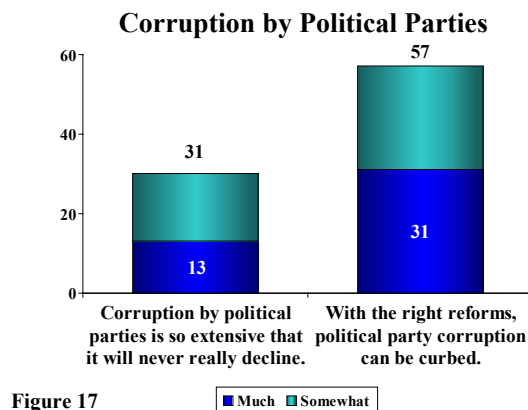


Figure 16

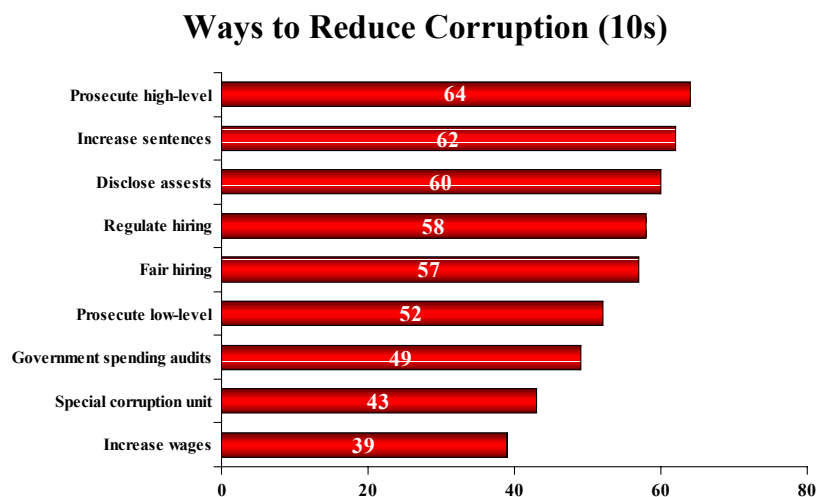
This view is partly a reflection of the distrust that the public has of the Kathmandu power structure. A majority (57 percent) favors a constitutional reform to give more authority to regions and villages. [Figure 16.] A number of focus group participants indicate that they trust local government and political party leaders more than the federal government and national party leaders.

One of the principal reasons that parties are so discredited is the perception that they are corrupt. As a Dhulikhel male said: “Political parties do corruption. They never enter politics to develop the country. Their focus is on corruption.”

Nonetheless, Nepalese do not believe that fighting corruption is hopeless. Most believe (57 percent of the public; 75 percent of opinion leaders) that “with the right reforms, political parties’ corruption can be curbed,” rather than that “corruption by political parties is so extensive that it will never really decline.” [Figure 17.] The focus groups indicate that some people are pleased that steps are being taken to combat corruption but that the legal process tends to slow down once an individual is charged.



Nepalese believe that the strongest way to fight corruption is to target and prosecute top political leaders in order to, in the words of some focus group participants, “cut off corruption from the head.” The two most popular anti-corruption measures are to increase jail sentences and fines for government officials found guilty of corruption and prosecute high-level officials who have stolen money. On a scale of 1 to 10 measuring the importance of such steps to fight corruption, 62 and 64 percent, respectively, score these measures a 10.³ [Figure 18.] This compares to the 52 percent who think prosecuting low-level government officials and clerks who demand bribes is extremely important.



³ On a scale of 1 to 10 with “10” meaning it is extremely important to reducing corruption and “1” meaning it is not important at all to reducing corruption.

Among opinion leaders, the strongest method to reduce corruption is to have public officials disclose their assets before and after they serve in government. Sixty-three percent of opinion leaders (and 60 percent of the public) give this a 10 on our scale. Most Nepalese may not be aware that officials are already required to do this; the government and the parties need to make their disclosures more public, for example by publishing their forms in newspapers or other publications.

Political parties can also help combat the perception that they are corrupt by placing more women in prominent roles within the parties. A remarkable 80 percent of Nepalese think men are more corrupt than women. [Figure 19.] Only 2 percent think the opposite. It is not uncommon for people to believe that women are less corrupt though this extreme result may be due to the fact that few women are in politics in Nepal in the first place.

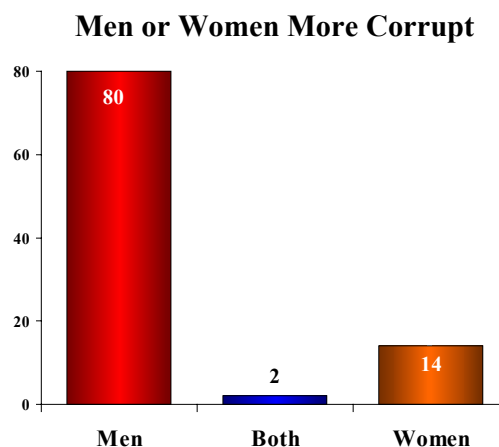


Figure 19

Economic Message Must Focus on Jobs

The other issue that parties need to focus on is the economy. As we noted in our last report, the profound dissatisfaction with conditions in the country – 95 percent say the country is going in the wrong direction -- is driven mainly by concerns about the economy. About 9 in 10 Nepalese see the economy heading in the wrong direction. If anything, worries about the economy seem to be growing, with 55 percent, 10 points higher than in June, citing unemployment as one of their top two concerns. [Figure 20.]

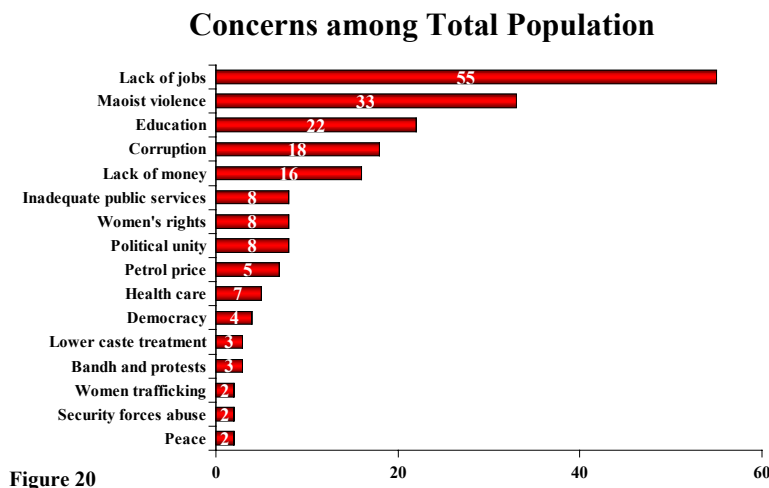


Figure 20

To be sure, economic revival will depend to a large degree on achieving peace. But the research also indicates that political parties can appeal to the public by focusing

on the economy and job creation in particular. The survey suggests three ways to frame the issue.

Politically, the most important economic focus must be agriculture. One in three Nepalese describe themselves as farmers. But an even larger share identifies with the need to develop the agricultural sector. Forty-five percent say they would be much more likely to vote for a party that pledged to “further develop agricultural production and distribution so no Nepalese has to go hungry,” making it the most popular proposal of the 11 we test in the survey.

Another important way to frame economic proposals is to appeal to the public’s concern about the many Nepalese who are leaving the country to seek better economic opportunities. Forty-one percent would be much more likely to support a party that developed a “jobs program to increase employment opportunities so Nepalese don’t have to go overseas.” This figure may be inflated since our survey fielded after the Nepalese hostages in Iraq were executed so the issue of Nepalese going abroad for work was fresh in respondents’ minds.

A third way for parties to frame their economic agenda is to propose educational initiatives for disadvantaged Nepalese as a means to create job opportunities for them. Thirty-eight percent of the public would be much more likely to support a party that “gives more educational scholarships to women and the lower castes so they will have more job opportunities.”

Some of the political parties are pursuing privatization of state-run companies as a means to boost the economy. Privatization is a dangerous issue politically in many countries, because of perceptions that it leads to jobs loss and an increase in rates for services. In Nepal, however, views are so far mixed about privatization. Thirty-seven percent think privately run companies are better run, while an equal share believes state-run companies are better run. Significantly, about one in four Nepalese (27 percent) are unable to state which is better. Opinion leaders are also split on the issue, breaking 44 to 40 percent in favor of state-run companies.

It is worth noting the least popular proposal for both the public and opinion leaders that we test: providing incentives for foreign companies to bring their factories to Nepal. It is not clear what accounts for this reaction. Leading investors like the United States and India have low, but not awful, ratings (34 and 38 degrees, respectively). In many developing countries where we have conducted research, there is a great deal of support for foreign investment. Nepalese, however, are looking for homegrown solutions to their economic crisis.

Support for Anti-Discrimination Measures

Efforts by the government and political parties to end the Maoist conflict and promote reconciliation and equitable development should include attempts to end

discrimination. As we noted in our last report, most of the public backs abolishing the caste system. It may be too much for parties to credibly urge abolishing the caste system – it is well entrenched in society and favored by many, as we noted in our last report – but the parties can probably take other steps to fight discrimination.

Official discrimination in Nepal, according to the survey, is widespread. Thirty percent say they have suffered discrimination frequently or occasionally by the government, including a majority of Tharus (57 percent) and Dalits (51 percent). [Figure 21.]

Based on the attacks that occurred last September against Muslim-run companies and mosques, it is not surprising that most (52 percent) Muslims say they have been discriminated against by government officials frequently (34 percent) or occasionally (18 percent).

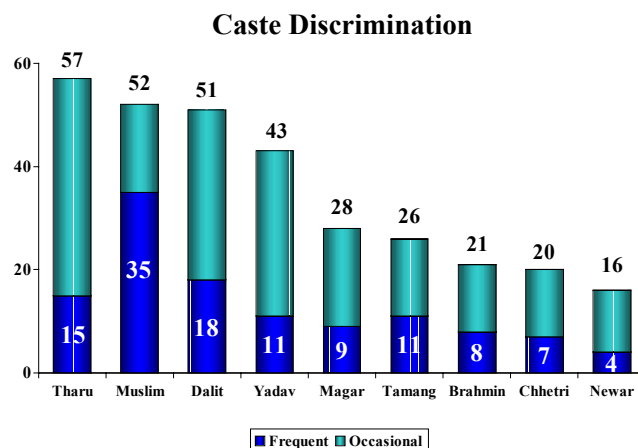


Figure 21

There is public support for actions to assist groups that are targets of discrimination. For example, an overwhelming 87 percent support adopting a reservation system in civil service, government and the military to ensure representation of disadvantaged groups.

As noted above, there is also strong support for giving more educational scholarships to women and lower castes. That is the strongest proposal in the survey among women, Brahmins, Tharus and Yadavs.

Political Party Messages Need Strengthening

As the survey results suggest, the parties need to center their public appeals on the key issues of peace and reconciliation, jobs, and corruption. So far, the UML is the closest to speaking substantively and stylistically in a way that resonates most with the public.

The strongest message that we tested is a variation of what the UML has been saying:

The CPN UML is prepared to sit down at any time and anywhere with the Maoists, the government, the monarchy and other political parties to negotiate an end to the conflict and bring peace and security to Nepal. With peace will come prosperity and the opportunity to extend to every village the “Make your own village” program, which we introduced

during our government and brought electricity and drinking water, among other things, to so many villages.

A majority of respondents (53 percent) say they would be much more (23 percent) or somewhat (30 percent) more likely to vote for the UML after hearing the message. The statement was a clear favorite of undecided voters among the 12 messages that we tested.

Based on the research from the first and present waves, we would revise the message to sharpen the appeal for national unity, focus more explicitly on jobs, and incorporate a pledge to combat corruption and promote anti-discrimination:

Now is the time for the Maoists, the King and all the political parties to sit down to resolve the conflict so that we can live in peace and build our country together. We call on all the parties to put aside our differences and develop a National Plan for Peace and Reconstruction. Under the plan, the parties will pledge to support farmers so that they can feed their families and the rest of the country; to create more jobs in Nepal so that our loved ones do not have to leave the country for a better life; to punish senior officials caught stealing from the people; and to give special scholarships and jobs to women and lower castes so that no one is denied an opportunity to support his family and develop our country.



Date: December 20, 2004

To: NDI

From: John Moreira

Re: NC Targets

To provide political parties with a better understanding of key target groups for their operations and message development, we have developed a matrix of key political targets and recommendations on how to appeal to them based on our recent survey results. There will be a brief note addressing the main findings within each matrix. Within each matrix, numbers in red note either high percentages or interesting findings, while numbers in blue note low percentages.

The definition of each target groups follows:

- NC voters (base) – 20 percent of population

This group consists of respondents who say they would vote for the NC if national elections were held today. If elections are called, the results will likely be close. It will be important for the NC to consolidate its base early, before reaching out to other target groups. Consolidating its base, however, should not come at the cost of alienating key target groups.

The NC base support parallels the demographic makeup of Nepal, though there is a slight edge among respondents from high socio-economic levels. Twenty-five percent of NC voters come from A and B-class respondents who makeup 21 percent of Nepalese society.

The NC also falls short in the Central region, the prime battleground area of Nepal. Only 29 percent of NC votes come from the Central region though the region holds 38 percent of the population. This is of particular importance as 51 percent of the undecided voters are found in the Central region.

NC's strength, in terms of having higher proportion of the population supporting the NC than the overall population, is in the Mid-western region. NC garners 18 percent of its overall support from the Mid-western region, though it only comprises 9 percent of the overall population.



This target group is best reached through radio as 66 percent use the radio as a principal source of information; though a higher than average (38 percent) also use television.

- NC party id, not currently voting for NC – 4 percent of population

This target group consists of respondents who identify with the NC, yet are not planning to vote for the NC. This group should be the most easily reached and converted to NC voters since they already sympathize with the party.

A majority (54 percent) of Nepalese in this target group are men and in particular men under the age of 36 (27 percent) who only make up 23 percent of the total population. As well, 28 percent of this target are in the A and B-classes which only make up 21 percent of the overall population, though most (55 percent) are in the C and D-classes.

As with NC voters, this target group is underrepresented in the Central region. Only 34 percent of this target are found in the Central region though the region makes up 38 percent of Nepal. This target has a higher than average proportion in the Western region, 27 percent.

This target group is best reached through radio as 60 percent use the radio as a principal source of information, though 36 percent also watch television.

- Voted NC in 1999, not now – 12 percent of population

This target group consists of respondents who voted for the NC in the 1999 national elections, but do not plan to vote for the NC. While this group will be slightly more difficult to win compared to those who still identify with the party, they should be well within the party's reach in the next national elections.

This group is a much older target, with Nepalese over the age of 35 making up 56 percent of this group, though they make up 45 percent of the total population.

These voters are disproportionately in the Central region with 22 percent of respondents in this target group being from Central Hills and 21 percent from the Central Tarai.

This target group is best reached through radio as 63 percent use the radio as a principal source of information, though 31 percent also watch television.



- Undecided voters – 15 percent of population

Given the expected competitiveness of the next national elections, undecided voters will be a particularly important target for all political parties.

Women account for 61 percent of all undecided voters, and women under the age of 36 account for 34 percent.

Over half of all undecided voters (51 percent) are found in the Central region with 31 percent coming from the Central Terai and 20 percent from the Central Hills.



<i>Which two of these concerns you the most?</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	NC Voters (Base)	NC id not vote	99 NC Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Lack of jobs	55	55	60	56	46	55	47	52	58	46
Maoist violence	33	34	30	37	30	31	35	32	33	40
Education	22	24	24	16	17	24	21	24	22	15
Corruption	18	16	19	18	10	17	13	16	15	26
Lack of money	16	16	9	14	19	16	21	15	15	6
PP not united	8	6	10	7	5	5	3	8	4	25
Women's rights	8	8	10	6	9	15	11	5	6	3
Infrastructure	8	5	8	12	24	7	10	12	11	4
Price of fuel	7	6	3	9	14	8	8	7	12	7

- The principal focus should be on creating jobs and bringing peace back to Nepal. The “NC id, not vote” target has a higher than average concern for lack of jobs, 60 percent. However, aside from jobs and the Maoists, there are several areas the NC should focus on for specific target groups.
- “99 NC, not now” target sees corruption as their third most important concern. To attract past NC voters that have abandoned the party, the NC should pay keen attention to the fight against corruption.
- Among undecided voters, lack of infrastructure is the third leading concern. The NC should draw on past accomplishments and proposals in this area.
- Though not a top concern for women between 18 and 35, 15 percent think that women’s rights is one of their top two concerns. When addressing young women’s groups, it will be important to pay special attention to this area.



<i>For each proposal, please tell me if it would make you much more likely to vote for that political party, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, or no more likely to vote for that political party. (Percentages for much more likely and somewhat more likely)</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	NC Voters (Base)	NC id not vote	99 NC Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Agriculture development	68	71	77	70	57	67	68	72	63	78
Educational scholarships	67	71	65	65	54	69	68	72	58	78
Women trafficking	64	68	71	63	54	67	63	71	56	74
Domestic job program	63	67	71	64	56	64	61	69	52	73
Reduce cost of electricity	60	65	64	63	54	62	58	66	51	72
Sell electricity abroad	59	59	56	57	48	56	60	62	53	74
Subsidize fuel costs	59	61	64	60	53	60	63	67	52	70
Tourism task force	52	54	59	53	47	51	47	50	41	67
Privatize utility companies	51	54	55	52	44	52	47	52	43	67
Regulate Manpower	51	51	56	50	47	51	44	53	42	63
Foreign-company incentives	46	46	50	51	43	45	43	47	44	62



- Agricultural development receives the strongest results among the general public. However, providing educational scholarships to women and disadvantaged groups and efforts to stop the trafficking of women play particularly well among NC targets. Among NC voters and women, and more specifically, women who are undecided, educational scholarships is the most approved proposal. As well, among the “NC id, not voting NC” target, the fight against women trafficking is the most approved proposal.
- It should be noted that while the job proposal does not fare as well as other proposals it will be essential for the NC to develop a jobs program of their own since lack of jobs is the leading concern in Nepal.

<u>Private verse State-run Companies</u>										
<i>State-run companies are better OR privately-run companies are better.</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	NC Voters (Base)	NC id not vote	99 NC Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
State-run	37	39	41	39	49	35	36	41	43	44
Privately-run	37	34	34	34	24	37	31	29	31	40
Both/Neither/Don't know	26	26	25	27	27	28	33	30	26	16

- This matrix demonstrates a slight preference for NC targets toward publicly-run companies. However, this does not rule out the possibility for the NC to use privatization proposals. Whichever way the NC decides to lean in this regard, a persuasive argument needs to be articulated to the public and target groups in order to strengthen support for such measures.



Message #1 - Most Effective NC Message (Revised from Original)

The NC will work to resolve the Maoist problem by engaging in negotiations and dialogue to bring about peace. We understand that after peace we can focus our attention on increasing job opportunities by using our water resources, increasing tourism, job training and education, especially in rural areas.

		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	NC Voters (Base)	NC id not vote	99 NC Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	17	44	19	11	11	16	19	19	8	17
Somewhat more likely	28	25	35	29	22	28	28	28	27	27
Total much and somewhat	45	69	54	40	33	44	47	47	35	44

Message #2 - NC Message (Original)

The NC will work to resolve the Maoist problem by engaging in negotiations and dialogue to bring about peace. We will also work to increase employment by exploiting our water resources, increasing tourism and imparting vocational trainings and education in rural areas.

		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	NC Voters (Base)	NC id not vote	99 NC Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	14	39	18	10	9	14	13	15	10	19
Somewhat more likely	29	28	26	30	21	30	24	30	28	27
Total much and somewhat	43	67	44	40	30	44	37	45	38	46



<p><u>Message #3 - New NC Message</u></p> <p><i>The NC says we need to work together to resolve the current conflict so that we can focus our attention on the economy and creating jobs. The conflict has scared away foreign investment, and we have a plan to bring that investment back to Nepal so that Nepalese can have good paying and stable jobs.</i></p>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	NC Voters (Base)	NC id not vote	99 NC Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	15	32	22	15	9	15	12	16	12	17
Somewhat more likely	29	40	29	28	20	31	26	32	26	30
Total much and somewhat	44	62	51	43	29	46	38	48	38	47

<p><u>Message #4 - Best non-NC Message Among Undecided Voters</u></p> <p>The XXX is prepared to sit down at any time and anywhere with the Maoists, the government, the monarchy and other political parties to negotiate an end to the conflict and bring peace and security to Nepal. With peace will come prosperity and the opportunity to extend to every village the program, which we introduced during our government and brought X and Y among other things, to so many villages.</p>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	NC Voters (Base)	NC id not vote	99 NC Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	23	11	29	19	16	23	21	22	20	30
Somewhat more likely	28	41	31	32	26	28	32	30	26	37
Total much and somewhat	52	52	60	51	42	51	53	52	46	67



- The revised NC message (Message #1) is the most effective message among NC voters. However, while this message is useful in strengthening the NC's base support, it fails to reach key target groups.
- The best non-NC message (Message #4) is the most effective of all the messages tested in the survey. It outperforms all NC messages among all target groups except for NC voters.
- The effectiveness of Message #4 stems from highlighting past accomplishments to strengthen trust that future proposals are more than words and can be attained. It also attempts to resolve the Maoist conflict, but goes beyond this alone to say that with the resolution prosperity will be brought throughout the country in very tangible ways - development of infrastructure. Only the issue of creating jobs is lacking from this message and would have likely made it even more effective.



<u>NC Attack</u> <i>The NC leaders spend too much time fighting among themselves instead of working to help the people.</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	NC Voters (Base)	NC id not vote	99 NC Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much less likely	21	20	29	22	19	21	17	19	20	26
Somewhat less likely	24	25	17	21	18	22	24	23	24	25
Total much and somewhat less	45	45	46	43	37	43	41	42	44	51

- Interestingly, the biggest impact this attack has is on NC voters and the easiest to reach NC target, those that identify with the NC but are not voting for them in national elections. The attack is also effective in the Central region, the key battleground area. It echoes the complaints we heard in the focus groups; the lack of NC's ability to get anything done because they are always fighting each other. The NC should take strong actions to dispel this attack.



<i>Do you approve or disapprove of the Maoist goals?</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	NC Voters (Base)	NC id not vote	99 NC Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Approve	38	33	35	32	31	37	32	34	26	51
Disapprove	40	50	37	39	32	42	38	42	50	38
Don't know/ Refused	22	17	29	29	38	21	30	24	24	11

- A majority of NC voters and target groups disapprove of the Maoist goals. This is not to say that the NC should oppose all of the Maoist goals, but only endorse those that would be effective with target groups, such as creating opportunities for women and disadvantaged groups.



Date: December 22, 2004

To: NDI

From: John Moreira

Re: NC-D Targets

To provide political parties with a better understanding of key target groups for their operations and message development, we have developed a matrix of key political targets and recommendations on how to appeal to them based on our recent survey results. There will be a brief note addressing the main findings within each matrix. Within each matrix, numbers in red note either high percentages or interesting findings, while numbers in blue note low percentages.

The definition of each target groups follows:

- NC-D voters (base) – 4 percent of population

This group consists of respondents who say they would vote for the NC-D if national elections were held today. If elections are called, the results will likely be close. It will be important for the NC-D to consolidate its base early, before reaching out to other target groups. Consolidating its base, however, should not come at the cost of alienating key target groups, mainly because the NC-D desperately needs to expand its voter base in order to be competitive.

NC-D base support parallels the demographic makeup of Nepal, though there is a slight edge among women who make up 54 percent of this group. This target is also concentrated among the upper castes with 49 percent of this group coming from Brahmins and Chhetris.

The group is also heavily concentrated in urban areas and the hills. Twenty-seven percent of this group comes from urban areas, though a mere 15 percent of Nepal's population is urban. As well, 55 percent of this target comes from the hills which account for 47 percent of the total population. In particular, this group is strongest in the Central Hills with 27 percent of the composition. As well, the group is disproportionately concentrated in the Far-west with 31 percent of the composition though the Far-west only has 7 percent of the total population.

This target group is best reached through radio as 68 percent use the radio as a principal source of information; though a much higher than average (46 percent) also use television.



- NC voters – 20 percent of population

This group consists of respondents who say they would vote for the NC if national elections were held today. If elections are called, the results will likely be close. It will be important for the NC to consolidate its base early, before reaching out to other target groups. Consolidating its base, however, should not come at the cost of alienating key target groups.

The NC base support parallels the demographic makeup of Nepal, though there is a slight edge among respondents from high socio-economic levels. Twenty-five percent of NC voters come from A and B-class respondents who makeup 21 percent of Nepalese society.

The NC also falls short in the Central region, the prime battleground area of Nepal. Only 29 percent of NC votes come from the Central region though the region holds 38 percent of the population. This is of particular importance as 51 percent of the undecided voters are found in the Central region.

NC's strength, in terms of having higher proportion of the population supporting the NC than the overall population, is in the Mid-western region. NC garners 18 percent of its overall support from the Mid-western region, though it only comprises 9 percent of the overall population.

This target group is best reached through radio as 66 percent use the radio as a principal source of information; though a higher than average (38 percent) percent also use television.

- Undecided voters – 15 percent of population

Given the expected competitiveness of the next national elections, undecided voters will be a particularly important target for all political parties.

Women account for 61 percent of all undecided voters, and women under the age of 36 account for 34 percent.

Over half of all undecided voters (51 percent) are found in the Central region with 31 percent coming from the Central Terai and 20 percent from the Central Hills.



<i>Which two of these concerns you the most?</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	NC-D Voters (Base)	NC Voters	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Lack of jobs	55	61	55	46	55	47	52	58	46
Maoist violence	33	37	34	30	31	35	32	33	40
Education	22	24	24	17	24	21	24	22	15
Corruption	18	17	16	10	17	13	16	15	26
Lack of money	16	11	16	19	16	21	15	15	6
PP not united	8	9	6	5	5	3	8	4	25
Women's rights	8	7	8	9	15	11	5	6	3
Infrastructure	8	5	5	24	7	10	12	11	4
Price of fuel	7	9	6	14	8	8	7	12	7

- The principal focus should be on creating jobs and bringing peace back to Nepal. NC-D voters have a higher than average concern for lack of jobs, 61 percent. However, aside from jobs and the Maoists, there are several areas the NC should focus on for specific target groups.
- Among undecided voters, lack of infrastructure is the third leading concern. The NC-D should draw on past accomplishments and proposals in this area.
- Though not a top concern for women between 18 and 35, 15 percent think that women's rights is one of their top two concerns. When addressing young women's groups, it will be important to pay special attention to this area.



<i>For each proposal, please tell me if it would make you much more likely to vote for that political party, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, or no more likely to vote for that political party. (Percentages for much more likely and somewhat more likely)</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	NC-D Voters (Base)	NC Voters	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Agriculture development	68	70	71	57	67	68	72	63	78
Educational scholarships	67	69	71	54	69	68	72	58	78
Women trafficking	64	69	68	54	67	63	71	56	74
Domestic job program	63	65	67	56	64	61	69	52	73
Reduce cost of electricity	60	73	65	54	62	58	66	51	72
Sell electricity abroad	59	63	59	48	56	60	62	53	74
Subsidize fuel costs	59	64	61	53	60	63	67	52	70
Tourism task force	52	58	54	47	51	47	50	41	67
Privatize utility companies	51	53	54	44	52	47	52	43	67
Regulate Manpower	51	58	51	47	51	44	53	42	63
Foreign-company incentives	46	47	46	43	45	43	47	44	62



- Agricultural development receives the strongest results among the general public. However, providing educational scholarships to women and disadvantaged groups and efforts to stop the trafficking of women play particularly well among NC-D targets. Among NC voters and women, more specifically women who are undecided, educational scholarships is the most approved proposal. As well, among the NC-D voters, developing water resources to reduce the cost of electricity was the most approved proposal
- It should be noted that while the job proposal does not fare as well as other proposals it will be essential for the NC-D to develop a jobs program of their own since lack of jobs is the leading concern in Nepal.

<u>Private verse State-run Companies</u>									
<i>State-run companies are better OR privately-run companies are better.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	NC-D Voters (Base)	NC Voters	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
State-run	37	31	41	49	35	36	41	43	44
Privately-run	37	47	34	24	37	31	29	31	40
Both/Neither/Don't know	26	22	25	27	28	33	30	26	16

- This matrix demonstrates a preference for NC-D voters toward privately-run companies. However, this does not rule out the possibility for the NC-D to use state-run proposals, especially since a majority of NC and undecided voters favor state-run companies. Whichever way the NC-D decides to lean in this regard, a persuasive argument needs to be articulated to the public and target groups in order to strengthen support for such measures.



<u>Message #1 - Most Effective NC-D Message (New Message)</u> <i>The NC-D says that corruption is putting money in the pockets of the politicians, not the people who need it most. The NC-D will fight corruption by giving more power and resources to the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority and by using our party as an example - any member of the NC-D found guilty of corruption will be immediately expelled from the party.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	NC-D Voters (Base)	NC Voters	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	12	33	11	11	10	14	13	5	15
Somewhat more likely	30	32	43	19	31	33	34	29	29
Total much and somewhat	42	65	54	30	41	47	47	34	44

<u>Message #2 - NC-D Message (Original)</u> <i>The NC-D calls on the Maoists to renounce violence and enter into immediate peace talks with the government. The NC-D will preserve the values of multi party democracy and the constitutional monarchy. The NC-D will fundamentally change the present state structure in order to empower women, marginalized ethnic and indigenous people and other oppressed peoples through fair and equitable economic development.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	NC-D Voters (Base)	NC Voters	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	12	37	15	9	10	11	13	4	18
Somewhat more likely	29	26	41	24	30	34	33	29	28
Total much and somewhat	41	63	56	33	40	45	46	33	46



Message #3 - NC-D Message (Revised from Original) <i>The NC-D believes that fundamental changes need to be made to our present state structure because too many Nepalese are being left out. The NC-D will focus its attention on empowering women and other marginalized people through a fair and equitable economic development programs that will create jobs and opportunities that are so desperately needed.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	NC-D Voters (Base)	NC Voters	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	11	27	14	7	11	8	11	6	13
Somewhat more likely	30	39	39	24	31	27	36	28	31
Total much and somewhat	41	66	53	31	42	35	47	34	44

Message #4 - Best non-NC-D Message Among Undecided Voters <i>The XXX is prepared to sit down at any time and anywhere with the Maoists, the government, the monarchy and other political parties to negotiate an end to the conflict and bring peace and security to Nepal. With peace will come prosperity and the opportunity to extend to every village the program, which we introduced during our government and brought X and Y among other things, to so many villages.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	NC-D Voters (Base)	NC Voters	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	23	6	11	16	23	21	22	20	30
Somewhat more likely	28	44	41	26	28	32	30	26	37
Total much and somewhat	52	50	52	42	51	53	52	46	67



- The new NC-D message we created (Message #1) is the most effective NC-D message among all respondents and women. However, NC-D voters are most receptive to the revised NC-D message (Message #3). NC-D's original message (Message #2) was the most effective among NC voters. However, while these messages are useful in strengthening the NC-D's base support, they fail to effectively reach beyond NC-D and NC voters.
- The effectiveness of Message #4 stems from highlighting past accomplishments to strengthen trust that future proposals are more than words and can be attained. It also attempts to resolve the Maoist conflict, but goes beyond this alone to say that with the resolution prosperity will be brought throughout the country in very tangible ways - development of infrastructure. Only the issue of creating jobs is lacking from this message and would have likely made it even more effective.



<u>NC-D Attack</u> <i>The NC-D leadership is made up of the rich and elites in Nepal. They do not understand what average Nepalese are going through and would not govern on our behalf.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	NC-D Voters (Base)	NC Voters	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much less likely	16	15	14	15	16	12	14	14	24
Somewhat less likely	30	28	38	19	27	27	26	31	30
Total much and somewhat less	46	43	52	34	43	39	40	45	54

- This attack on the NC-D has a relatively strong impact with 46 percent of our respondents saying they would be much less or somewhat less likely to vote for the NC-D because of this attack. It has a considerable impact among NC voters with whom the NC-D might have the easiest chance of gaining support. The attack is also effective in the Central region, the key battleground area. The NC-D will need to demonstrate to voters how this attack is not accurate and why they care about the people of Nepal and what they will do for them.



<i>Do you approve or disapprove of the Maoist goals?</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	NC-D Voters (Base)	NC Voters	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Approve	38	38	33	31	37	32	34	26	51
Disapprove	40	42	50	32	42	38	42	50	38
Don't know/ Refused	22	20	17	38	21	30	24	24	11

- A majority of NC-D voters and target groups disapprove of the Maoist goals. This is not to say that the NC-D should oppose all of the Maoist goals, but only endorse those that would be effective with target groups, such as creating opportunities for women and disadvantaged groups.



Date: December 20, 2004

To: NDI

From: John Moreira

Re: UML Targets

To provide political parties with a better understanding of key target groups for their operations and message development, we have developed a matrix of key political targets and recommendations on how to appeal to them based on our recent survey results. There will be a brief note addressing the main findings within each matrix. Within each matrix, numbers in red note either high percentages or interesting findings, while numbers in blue note low percentages.

The definition of each target groups follows:

- UML voters (base) – 26 percent of population

This group consists of respondents who say they would vote for the UML if national elections were held today. If elections are called, the results will likely be close. It will be important for the UML to consolidate its base early, before reaching out to other target groups. Consolidating its base, however, should not come at the cost of alienating key target groups.

The UML base support parallels the demographic makeup of Nepal, though there is a slight edge among respondents under 36. The UML base is comprised of 59 percent of respondents under 36, even though they make up 55 percent of the overall population.

They are also slightly more disproportionately rural. Only 11 percent of this target are from urban areas compared to the 15 percent nationally. Thirty percent of this target group comes from the Eastern region though the region makes up 25 percent of the total population.

This target group is best reached through radio as 70 percent use the radio as a principal source of information; 35 percent also use television.

- UML party id, not currently voting for UML – 4 percent of population



This target group consists of respondents who identify with the UML, yet are not planning to vote for the UML. This group should be the most easily reached and converted to UML voters since they already sympathize with the party.

Most Nepalese in this target group are “middle-age,” at least in the Nepalese sense – that is between the ages of 26 and 45. While that age group makes up about half (49 percent) of the total population, they comprise 59 percent of this target group.

These voters are based disproportionately in the hills. Fifty-eight percent live in the hills, though the hills make up just 47 percent of the total population. Only 37 percent live in the Terai, which has 50 percent of the population.

This target group is best reached through radio as 75 percent use the radio as a principal source of information, though 34 percent also watch television.

- Voted UML in 1999, not now – 9 percent of population

This target group consists of respondents who voted for the UML in the 1999 national elections, but do not plan to vote for the UML. While this group will be slightly more difficult to win compared to those who still identify with the party, they should be well within the party’s reach in the next national elections.

This group is slightly older, with men over the age of 35 making up 30 percent of this group, though they make up 26 percent of the total population. Nearly half of this group (48 percent) comes from the Bhramin and Chhetri castes.

These voters are disproportionately in rural and hill areas with 89 percent of respondents in this target group being from rural areas and 55 percent from the hill areas. More specifically, 20 percent of this group is found in the Western Hills which make up 13 percent of the total population.

This target group is best reached through radio as 2 in 3 use the radio as their principal source of information. Only 1 in 4 (28 percent) use television as their principal source.

- Undecided voters – 15 percent of population

Given the expected competitiveness of the next national elections, undecided voters will be a particularly important target for all political parties.



Women account for 61 percent of all undecided voters, and women under the age of 36 account for 34 percent.

Over half of all undecided voters (51 percent) are found in the Central region with 31 percent coming from the Central Terai and 20 percent from the Central Hills.



<i>Which two of these concerns you the most?</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	UML Voters (Base)	UML id not vote	99 UML Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Lack of jobs	55%	59%	55%	54%	46%	55%	47%	52%	58%	46%
Maoist violence	33%	31%	30%	36%	30%	31%	35%	32%	33%	40%
Education	22%	23%	24%	15%	17%	24%	21%	24%	22%	15%
Corruption	18%	23%	19%	19%	10%	17%	13%	16%	15%	26%
Lack of money	16%	16%	9%	15%	19%	16%	21%	15%	15%	6%
PP not united	8%	7%	10%	12%	5%	5%	3%	8%	4%	25%
Women's rights	8%	8%	10%	7%	9%	15%	11%	5%	6%	3%
Infrastructure	8%	4%	8%	9%	24%	7%	10%	12%	11%	4%
Price of fuel	7%	7%	3%	10%	14%	8%	8%	7%	12%	7%

- The principal focus should be on creating jobs and bringing peace back to Nepal. However, aside from jobs and the Maoists, there are several areas the UML should focus on for specific target groups.
- UML voters and “99 UML, not now” targets see corruption as their third most important concern. To strengthen the UML base and attract past UML voters that have abandoned the party, the UML should pay keen attention to the fight against corruption.
- Among undecided voters, lack of infrastructure is the third leading concern, which the UML can bring attention to by illustrating past successes of the “Build Your Own Village” program.
- Though not a top concern for women between 18 and 35, 15 percent think that women’s rights is one of their top two concerns. When addressing young women’s groups, it will be important to pay special attention to this area.



<i>For each proposal, please tell me if it would make you much more likely to vote for that political party, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, or no more likely to vote for that political party. (Percentages for much more likely and somewhat more likely)</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	UML Voters (Base)	UML id not vote	99 UML Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Agriculture development	68	74	67	65	57	67	68	72	63	78
Educational scholarships	67	75	68	56	54	69	68	72	58	78
Women trafficking	64	69	71	60	54	67	63	71	56	74
Domestic job program	63	67	62	60	56	64	61	69	52	73
Reduce cost of electricity	60	64	59	49	54	62	58	66	51	72
Sell electricity abroad	59	68	57	57	48	56	60	62	53	74
Subsidize fuel costs	59	64	59	59	53	60	63	67	52	70
Tourism task force	52	57	58	49	47	51	47	50	41	67
Privatize utility companies	51	56	48	44	44	52	47	52	43	67
Regulate Manpower	51	56	52	49	47	51	44	53	42	63
Foreign-company incentives	46	51	49	47	43	45	43	47	44	62



- Agricultural development receives the strongest results among the general public. However, providing educational scholarships to women and disadvantaged groups and efforts to stop the trafficking of women play particularly well among UML targets. Among women, and more specifically, women who are undecided, educational scholarships is the most approved proposal. As well, among the “UML id, not voting UML” target, the fight against women trafficking is the most approved proposal.
- It should be noted that while the job proposal does not fare as well as other proposals it will be essential for the UML to develop a jobs program of their own since lack of jobs is the leading concern in Nepal.

<u>Private verse State-run Companies</u>										
<i>State-run companies are better OR privately-run companies are better.</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	UML Voters (Base)	UML id not vote	99 UML Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
State-run	37	35	25	39	49	35	36	41	43	44
Privately-run	37	39	41	34	24	37	31	29	31	40
Both/Neither/ Don't know	26	26	33	27	27	28	33	30	26	16

- This matrix continues to demonstrate a split in desire for state or publicly run companies, with many respondents unable to answer. The “UML id, not voting UML” target strongly favors privately run companies, yet undecided voters favor state-run companies. Whichever way the UML decides to lean in this regard, a persuasive argument needs to be articulated to the public and target groups in order to strengthen support for such measures.



Message #1 - Most Effective UML Message (Revised from Original)

The CPN-UML is prepared to sit down at any time and anywhere with the Maoists, the government, the monarchy and other political parties to negotiate an end to the conflict and bring peace and security to Nepal. With peace will come prosperity and the opportunity to extend to every village the “Make Your Own Village” program, which we introduced during our government and brought electricity and drinking water, among other things, to so many villages.

		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	UML Voters (Base)	UML id not vote	99 UML Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	23	52	25	18	16	23	21	22	20	30
Somewhat more likely	28	26	29	28	26	28	32	30	26	37
Total much and somewhat	52	78	54	46	42	51	53	52	46	67

Message #2 - UML Message (Original)

The CPN UML, appeals to all people, organizations, institutions and conscious citizens for their active support for immediate government-Maoist peace talks, a lasting peace, an elected government, good governance and security in the country. The CPN UML wants all countrymen to unite with the patriotic and democratic forces and reach a national consensus on the issues to achieve forward-looking reforms, stability, development and national dignity.

		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	UML Voters (Base)	UML id not vote	99 UML Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	23	53	18	23	15	22	19	23	20	30
Somewhat more likely	29	25	28	38	19	29	34	29	24	37
Total much and somewhat	52	78	46	61	34	51	43	52	44	67



Message #3 - New UML Message <i>The CPN-UML says we need to work together to resolve the current conflict so that we can focus our attention on the economy and creating jobs. The conflict has scared away foreign investment, and we have a plan to bring that investment back to Nepal so that Nepalese can have good paying and stable job.</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	UML Voters (Base)	UML id not vote	99 UML Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	20	42	22	18	13	20	16	22	13	23
Somewhat more likely	19	32	28	27	21	29	26	31	27	26
Total much and somewhat	49	74	50	45	34	49	42	53	40	49

Message #4 - Best non-UML Message Among Undecided Voters <i>The XXX will work to resolve the Maoist problem by engaging in negotiations and dialogue to bring about peace. We understand that after peace we can focus our attention on increasing job opportunities by using our water resources, increasing tourism, job training and education, especially in rural areas.</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	UML Voters (Base)	UML id not vote	99 UML Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	17	10	7	9	11	16	19	19	8	20
Somewhat more likely	28	35	28	20	22	28	28	28	27	24
Total much and somewhat	45	45	35	29	33	44	47	47	35	44



- The revised UML message (Message #1) is the most effective of all the messages tested in the survey, including non-UML messages. The original UML message (Message #2) performs rather strongly, but among 2 key target groups – “UML id not voting UML” and undecided voters – Message #1 has an 8 to 10 point advantage.
- The effectiveness of Message #1 stems from highlighting past accomplishments to strengthen trust that future proposals are more than words and can be attained. It also attempts to resolve the Maoist conflict, but goes beyond this alone to say that with the resolution prosperity will be brought throughout the country in very tangible ways - development of infrastructure. Only the issue of creating jobs is lacking from this message and would have likely made it even more effective.



UML Attack <i>The CPN-UML says they rule for the poor, but when they were in power, they focused most of their time helping the rich. They talk about good things, but we need more than talk - we need action.</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	UML Voters (Base)	UML id not vote	99 UML Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much less likely	18	19	24	19	17	18	19	18	19	24
Somewhat less likely	27	27	29	22	19	24	28	24	25	27
Total much and somewhat less	45	46	53	41	36	42	47	42	44	51

- Interestingly, the biggest impact this attack has is on the easiest to reach UML target, those that identify with the UML but did not say they would vote for them in national elections. This attack potentially highlights one of the reason voters are not ready to commit to the UML although they identify with the party's goals. The UML should make concentrated efforts to counter this stigma by publicizing past accomplishments.



<i>Do you approve or disapprove of the Maoist goals?</i>										
		TARGETS								
Response	Survey Total	UML Voters (Base)	UML id not vote	99 UML Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Approve	38	46	40	43	31	37	32	34	26	51
Disapprove	40	39	34	32	32	42	38	42	50	38
Don't know/ Refused	22	15	26	26	38	21	30	24	24	11

- The UML finds themselves in an interesting situation. While a majority of the UML specific targets approve of the Maoist goals, undecided voters are more disapproving, especially in the central region. UML can play around this predicament by expressing goals within the party platform that are similar to the more positive Maoist goals, but not attributing them to being “Maoist goals.”



Date: December 22, 2004

To: NDI

From: John Moreira

Re: RPP Targets

To provide political parties with a better understanding of key target groups for their operations and message development, we have developed a matrix of key political targets and recommendations on how to appeal to them based on our recent survey results. There will be a brief note addressing the main findings within each matrix. Within each matrix, numbers in red note either high percentages or interesting findings, while numbers in blue note low percentages.

The definition of each target groups follows:

- RPP voters (base) – 8 percent of population

This group consists of respondents who say they would vote for the RPP if national elections were held today. If elections are called, the results will likely be close. It will be important for the RPP to consolidate its base early, before reaching out to other target groups. Consolidating its base, however, should not come at the cost of alienating key target groups, particularly because the RPP needs to expand its voter base in order to be competitive.

The RPP base is predominately older men. Men make up 59 percent of this target, and men over the age of 35 make up 35 percent of this target, though they are only 26 percent of the overall population. This target is also concentrated with D-class Nepalese who make up 44 percent of this target, though they are 36 percent of the overall population. Forty-one percent of this target are farmers.

RPP's base is proportionately distributed throughout the main regions.

This target group is best reached through radio as 67 percent use the radio as a principal source of information; though 37 percent also use television.

- Voted RPP in 1999, not now – 3 percent of population

This target group consists of respondents who voted for the RPP in the 1999 national elections, but do not plan to vote for the RPP. While this group will



be slightly more difficult to win compared to those who still identify with the party, they should be well within the party's reach in the next national elections.

This group is a significantly older target, with Nepalese over the age of 35 making up 65 percent of this group, though they make up 45 percent of the total population. Older men account for 36 percent and older women account for 29 percent of this target. As well, 58 percent of this target has no formal education.

These voters have a slightly stronger presence in the Central region, 44 percent, and in particular the Central Hills with 23 percent of this target.

This target group is best reached through radio as 65 percent use the radio as a principal source of information, though 25 percent also watch television.

- Undecided voters – 15 percent of population

Given the expected competitiveness of the next national elections, undecided voters will be a particularly important target for all political parties.

Women account for 61 percent of all undecided voters, and women under the age of 36 account for 34 percent.

Over half of all undecided voters (51 percent) are found in the Central region with 31 percent coming from the Central Terai and 20 percent from the Central Hills.



<i>Which two of these concerns you the most?</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	RPP Voters (Base)	99 RPP Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Lack of jobs	55	60	46	46	55	47	52	58	46
Maoist violence	33	34	44	30	31	35	32	33	40
Education	22	24	13	17	24	21	24	22	15
Corruption	18	11	11	10	17	13	16	15	26
Lack of money	16	14	17	19	16	21	15	15	6
PP not united	8	8	9	5	5	3	8	4	25
Women's rights	8	8	11	9	15	11	5	6	3
Infrastructure	8	6	10	24	7	10	12	11	4
Price of fuel	7	5	6	14	8	8	7	12	7

- The principal focus should be on creating jobs and bringing peace back to Nepal. RPP voters have a higher than average concern for lack of jobs, 60 percent. Interestingly, corruption concerns are rather low among RPP targets.
- “99 RPP, not now” target sees Maoist violence as a major concern, 11 points higher than average. To attract past RPP voters that have abandoned the party, the RPP should pay keen attention to resolving the Maoist conflict and creating jobs.
- Among undecided voters, lack of infrastructure is the third leading concern. The RPP should draw on past accomplishments and proposals in this area.
- Though not a top concern for women between 18 and 35, 15 percent think that women's rights is one of their top two concerns. When addressing young women's groups, it will be important to pay special attention to this area.



<i>For each proposal, please tell me if it would make you much more likely to vote for that political party, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, or no more likely to vote for that political party. (Percentages for much more likely and somewhat more likely)</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	RPP Voters (Base)	99 RPP Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Agriculture development	68	71	70	57	67	68	72	63	78
Educational scholarships	67	69	62	54	69	68	72	58	78
Women trafficking	64	67	64	54	67	63	71	56	74
Domestic job program	63	68	59	56	64	61	69	52	73
Reduce cost of electricity	60	63	58	54	62	58	66	51	72
Sell electricity abroad	59	65	62	48	56	60	62	53	74
Subsidize fuel costs	59	65	51	53	60	63	67	52	70
Tourism task force	52	53	47	47	51	47	50	41	67
Privatize utility companies	51	56	49	44	52	47	52	43	67
Regulate Manpower	51	52	49	47	51	44	53	42	63
Foreign-company incentives	46	48	48	43	45	43	47	44	62



- Agricultural development receives the strongest results among the general public. However, providing educational scholarships to women and disadvantaged groups and efforts to stop the trafficking of women play particularly well among RPP targets. Among women, and more specifically, women who are undecided, educational scholarships is the most approved proposal. As well, among the “99 RPP, not now” target, the fight against women trafficking is the second most approved proposal.
- It should be noted that while the job proposal does not fare as well as other proposals it will be essential for the RPP to develop a jobs program of their own since lack of jobs is the leading concern in Nepal.

<p><u>Private verse State-run Companies</u></p> <p><i>State-run companies are better OR privately-run companies are better.</i></p>									
Response	Survey Total	TARGETS							Opinion Leaders
		RPP Voters (Base)	99 RPP Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	
State-run	37	39	31	49	35	36	41	43	44
Privately-run	37	34	51	24	37	31	29	31	40
Both/Neither/Don't know	26	27	18	27	28	33	30	26	16

- This matrix demonstrates a slight preference for RPP voters toward publicly-run companies. However, this does not rule out the possibility for the RPP to use privatization proposals, especially since a majority of “99 RPP, not now” respondents favor privately-run companies. Whichever way the RPP decides to lean in this regard, a persuasive argument needs to be articulated to the public and target groups in order to strengthen support for such measures.



Message #1 - Most Effective RPP Message (New Message) <i>The RPP says that corruption is putting money in the pockets of the politicians, not the people who need it most. The RPP will fight corruption by giving more power and resources to the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority and by using our party as an example - any member of the RPP found guilty of corruption will be immediately expelled from the party.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	RPP Voters (Base)	99 RPP Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	12	35	17	11	16	19	19	8	11
Somewhat more likely	26	30	25	22	28	28	28	27	30
Total much and somewhat	38	65	42	33	44	47	47	35	41

Message #2 - RPP Message (Original) <i>The RPP calls upon the political parties, the Maoists and civil society to negotiate a peace and empower the people to address effectively the causes of social conflict in the country. We also call upon the government to develop special programs to provide relief to the people living below the poverty line.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	RPP Voters (Base)	99 RPP Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	10	34	15	9	14	13	15	10	14
Somewhat more likely	27	33	16	21	30	24	30	28	23
Total much and somewhat	37	67	31	30	44	37	45	38	37



Message #3 - RPP Message (Revised from Original) <i>The RPP wants to get to the root of our social conflict so that we can live in peace and raise the living standards of all Nepalese. The RPP will expand educational and career opportunities for the poor by creating scholarships and job placement programs for those that most need it.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	RPP Voters (Base)	99 RPP Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	10	39	8	9	15	12	16	12	11
Somewhat more likely	25	25	28	20	31	26	32	26	30
Total much and somewhat	35	64	36	29	46	38	48	38	41

Message #4 - Best non-RPP Message Among Undecided Voters <i>The XXX is prepared to sit down at any time and anywhere with the Maoists, the government, the monarchy and other political parties to negotiate an end to the conflict and bring peace and security to Nepal. With peace will come prosperity and the opportunity to extend to every village the program, which we introduced during our government and brought X and Y among other things, to so many villages.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	RPP Voters (Base)	99 RPP Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much more likely	23	16	13	16	23	21	22	20	30
Somewhat more likely	28	34	28	26	28	32	30	26	37
Total much and somewhat	52	50	41	42	51	53	52	46	67



- The original RPP message (Message #2) is the most effective message among RPP voters, though the “new” RPP message we created (Message #1) is the most effective among the “99 RPP, not now” target and the overall population. However, while these messages are useful in strengthening the RPP’s base support, it fails to reach beyond RPP voters.
- The best non-RPP message (Message #4) is the most effective of all the messages tested in the survey. It outperforms all RPP messages among all target groups except for RPP voters and the “99 RPP, not now” target.
- The effectiveness of Message #4 stems from highlighting past accomplishments to strengthen trust that future proposals are more than words and can be attained. It also attempts to resolve the Maoist conflict, but goes beyond this alone to say that with the resolution prosperity will be brought throughout the country in very tangible ways - development of infrastructure. Only the issue of creating jobs is lacking from this message and would have likely made it even more effective.



<u>RPP Attack</u> <i>The RPP is too close to the king and wants a return of the Panchayat system. While we have some problems with democracy in Nepal, now is not the time to move backwards.</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	RPP Voters (Base)	99 RPP Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Much less likely	28	23	21	28	27	23	24	27	41
Somewhat less likely	22	19	22	15	19	19	19	22	18
Total much and somewhat less	50	42	43	43	46	42	43	49	59

- This attack on the RPP has a rather strong impact with 50 percent of our respondents saying they would be much less or somewhat less likely to vote for the RPP because of this attack. It has a considerable impact even among RPP voters and targets. The attack is also effective in the Central region, the key battleground area. The RPP will need to demonstrate to voters how this attack is not accurate and why they believe having democracy in Nepal is important.



<i>Do you approve or disapprove of the Maoist goals?</i>									
		TARGETS							
Response	Survey Total	RPP Voters (Base)	99 RPP Not now	Und. Voters	Women 18-35	Women 35+	House-wives	Central Region	Opinion Leaders
Approve	38	35	30	31	37	32	34	26	51
Disapprove	40	48	36	32	42	38	42	50	38
Don't know/ Refused	22	17	34	38	21	30	24	24	11

- A majority of RPP voters and target groups disapprove of the Maoist goals. This is not to say that the RPP should oppose all of the Maoist goals, but only endorse those that would be effective with target groups, such as creating opportunities for women and disadvantaged groups.